JANUARY 18, 2016

TIME

WHO GAINS IN THE GIG ECONOMY
POLL, p48

THE HAZARDS OF TRUE-CRIME TV
p25

HOW TRUMP WON

Now he just needs the votes

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

TIME
VOL. 187, NO. 1 | 2016

Cover Story

The Unsinkable

Donald Trump's crowds are bigger than ever. The Republican brass is taking note

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A campaign like no other

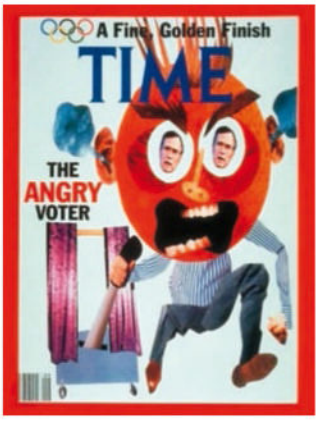
THE DISRUPTION OF COMMERCE, CONSUMPTION and pretty much everything else is the story of our age. In this issue, we share the results of a poll we conducted with Burson-Marsteller and the Aspen Institute Future of Work Initiative on attitudes about the gig economy. We explored who is offering services—rides from Uber, food delivery from Postmates, rooms from Airbnb—who is using them and why. This same dynamic—essentially, cut out the middlemen—applies to our politics, which is a theme David Von Drehle explores in his cover story. Donald Trump has defied every convention and conviction about how politics works and has surfed atop the polls for five months. Whatever the outcome in Iowa and beyond, he has already changed the game, and David explores what this means for his party and the future of politics.

David's story reflects the reporting of TIME's entire political team, led by Washington bureau chief Michael Scherer. They've spent a year crisscrossing the country, chatting up candidates in middle seats and in the backs of SUVs and listening to voters at massive rallies and modest town halls. Philip Elliott and Zeke Miller have led the coverage of the Republicans, logging thousands of miles and interviewing most of the candidates multiple times: with each week it is clearer that we have entered uncharted territory. "The number of times candidates and consultants have essentially interviewed me about what I think comes next is getting ridiculous," Zeke observes. Sam Frizell has followed the Democrats, chronicling Hillary Clinton's rocky road to coronation and Bernie Sanders' soaring rebellion. Alex Altman was an early predictor of Ted Cruz's rise last summer, and Haley Sweetland Edwards has illuminated the policy debates underlying the race. Meanwhile, columnist Joe Klein brings every bit as much energy and enterprise to this race—his 11th—as he did to his first.

Nancy Gibbs, EDITOR

Back in TIME

March 2, 1992 **THE ANGRY VOTER**



MAD AS HELL
"All that emotion," TIME said of the nation's mood, "has sharp political consequences."

This week's cover story reveals the American political mood as an angry one—but it's not the first time that's been the case. Read more at time.com/vault.

THE NEWS Republicans in New Hampshire sent President George H.W. Bush a warning in the 1992 primary, giving him just 53% of the vote.

THE CONCLUSION Citing Americans' rage at bickering between the White House and Congress, Lance Morrow wrote, "The New Hampshire primary amounted to a cry of anger, disgust and pain."

BONUS *TIME* POLITICS

Subscribe to TIME's free politics newsletter and get **exclusive news and insights from the 2016 campaign sent straight to your inbox.** For more, visit time.com/email.

NOW ON NEWSSTANDS
In a new TIME Special Edition, our Washington correspondents explore the coming year of political change, as anti-Establishment discontent fuels the campaigns of unlikely contenders from Donald Trump to Bernie Sanders. In more than a dozen profiles of candidates and leaders—including Rand Paul, Ben Carson, Elizabeth Warren and Hillary Clinton—TIME's reporters make sense of an atmosphere in which, as Washington bureau chief Michael Scherer writes, "candidates are sounding alarm bells, loud and clear." *The New Revolutionaries* is available in stores Jan. 8.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In "The Awesome Column" (Dec. 21), we misstated the name of the NFL commissioner. He is Roger Goodell. In "The Ever Expanding Potterverse" (Dec. 28–Jan. 4), we misstated the name of an actress in an upcoming *Harry Potter* film. She is Katherine Waterston.

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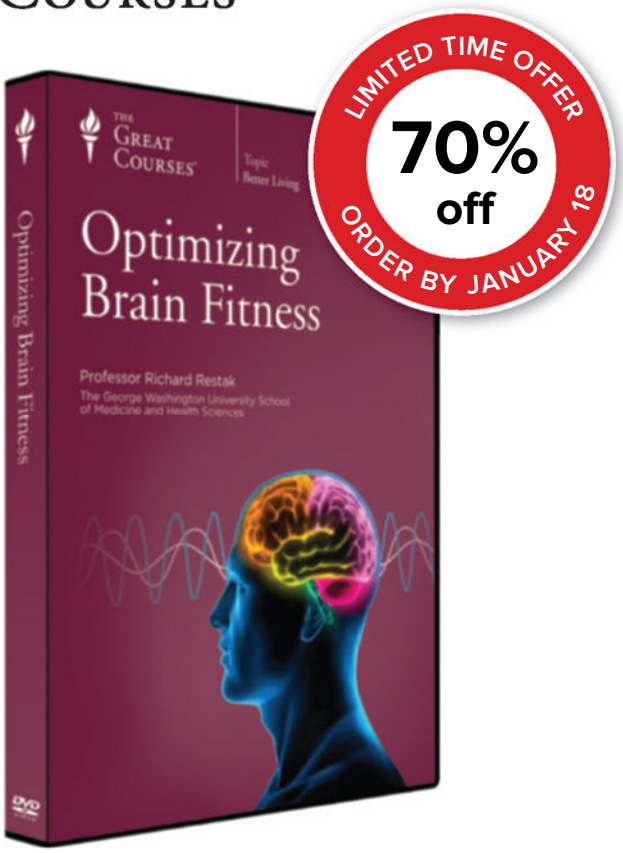

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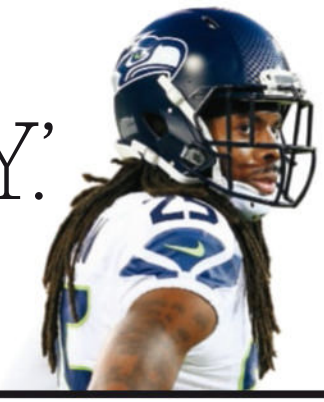
‘I SEE A CONCUSSION MOVIE EVERY SUNDAY.’

RICHARD SHERMAN, star cornerback for the NFL’s Seattle Seahawks, on why he doesn’t need to watch the new film *Concussion*

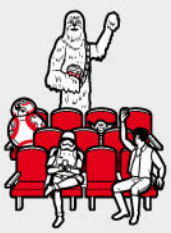


‘Youth and beauty are not accomplishments, they’re the temporary happy by-products of time and/or DNA.’

CARRIE FISHER, *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* actor, 59, pushing back against critics who said she hasn’t aged well since first playing the character of Princess Leia in the original *Star Wars* movie in 1977

$500 million

Investment GM made in Uber competitor Lyft, as the carmaker looks to break into the self-driving-car business



$760 million

Gross domestic box-office sales for *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* as of Jan. 6, overtaking *Avatar* as the biggest domestic movie ever; it has grossed more than $1.5 billion globally

‘God’s hand of retaliation will grip the neck of Saudi politicians.’

AYATULLAH KHAMENEI, Supreme Leader of Iran, after Sunni-controlled Saudi Arabia’s execution of a prominent Shi‘ite cleric inflamed tensions between the two countries

Spotlight
The movie was named the best of 2015 by the National Society of Film Critics

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Spotify
The music-streaming service faces a $150 million lawsuit for unpaid royalties

‘AS A NATION WE HAVE TO DO BETTER. WE ARE BETTER. WE’RE BETTER THAN THIS.’

MARK BARDEN, father of one of the schoolchildren killed in the 2012 Sandy Hook shooting, introducing President Obama before the President circumvented Congress with a series of executive actions intended to curb gun violence in the U.S.

1,000

Number of coats an Arizona girl collected for the homeless; “I just want people to know someone cares about them,” she said

‘The wheels of justice grind slowly but exceedingly fine.’

KRISTINA RUEHLI, one of dozens of women who have accused Bill Cosby of sexual assault, after the entertainer was charged by Pennsylvania prosecutors in a separate 2004 incident; Cosby has denied wrongdoing

SHERMAN, RUFFALO: GETTY IMAGES; KHAMENEI: AP; ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

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The Brief

'IT DOES EMBOLDEN FOLKS TO SEE THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT TAKE AGGRESSIVE ACTION.' —PAGE 20

A Bahraini protester holds a poster of Shi'ite cleric Nimr al-Nimr, who was executed by Saudi Arabia

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

GEOPOLITICS

An unstable Saudi Arabia could mean big trouble for the Middle East

By Karl Vick

NOT SO LONG AGO, THE SAGA OF THE House of Saud still worked as opera. The setting was epic, the libretto compelling: an ambitious patriarch in the 18th century wins control of the Arabian Peninsula by striking a deal not with the devil but with the armies of a religious fanatic, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, founder of the ultraconservative branch of Sunni Islam called Wahhabism. Centuries later, when oil is discovered beneath the desert wastes, a successor enters into another alliance, with U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt receiving Abdul Aziz ibn Saud in 1945 on the Great Bitter Lake of the Suez Canal, where the King's party insisted on sleeping in the tents they pitched on the deck of the U.S.S. *Murphy*.

The conflict embedded in the story was shunted into the background for decades, while the spotlight tracked aging monarchs who crossed stages in robes that masked both royal girth and a descent into empty pageantry. Then came 9/11, and news that 15 of the 19 hijackers who had struck the U.S. were Saudi. In 2013, surging U.S. oil production passed Saudi Arabia's.

Now there's the kingdom's Jan. 2 execution of 47 prisoners, further destabilizing a Middle East that Saudi Arabia long boasted it had under control. The most prominent victim was Nimr al-Nimr, a cleric and nonviolent activist for Saudi Arabia's oppressed Shi'ite minority. His beheading enraged the Saudis' great Shi'ite rival, Iran, where hardline thugs promptly pillaged the Saudi embassy. Riyadh responded by severing relations with Iran. The resulting

PHOTOGRAPH BY MOHAMMED AL-SHAIKH

uproar diverted attention from a quieter development: the House of Saud has become unmoored. "There's been 70 years of idle and completely erroneous speculation that the Saudis were unstable," says Charles Freeman, a former U.S. ambassador to Riyadh. "This is the first time that they might be."

The monarchy faces profound problems both at home and abroad. Oil prices, which it helped lower to hobble Iran and price out new suppliers, are threatening the kingdom's custodial relationship with its subjects. After the International Monetary Fund warned that Riyadh's spending would exhaust all assets in five years, the government doubled the price of gasoline and announced cuts to subsidies that keep the public pliant.

Yet Saudi Arabia continues to spend a bigger portion of its economy on defense than any other nation (11% of GDP, vs. 3.5% in the U.S.). It burns through $6 billion a month to bomb Yemen, an ill-advised war that has come to define the abrupt change brought by King Salman since he assumed the throne a year ago. "If all of these things continue, you could get a sort of perfect storm of threats to Saudi stability," warns Philip H. Gordon, former White House coordinator for the Middle East.

Compounding the risks is Salman's decision to sideline most of the House of Saud, a vast family tree of diverse views and sensibilities. By naming a nephew as crown prince and his own 30-year-old son as both chief of the royal court and Minister of Defense, Salman excluded any line but his own. "That means the possibility of rash decisions went up," says Freeman. "You could argue that the war in Yemen is an example of that. You could argue that the executions are an example of that too."

The mass execution was the biggest since the Saudis killed 63 fundamentalists who in 1979 had tried to depose the royal family by taking over the Great Mosque of Mecca, after which the Saudis doubled down on Wahhabi fundamentalism. And though all but four of the 47 put to death on Jan. 2 were Sunni, the Shi'ite executions intensified the proxy war with Iran that has replaced U.S. relations at the core of Saudi foreign policy. Just two months after U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry coaxed the Saudis and Iranians into the same room to discuss Syria's civil war—they back opposing sides—a route to peace appears more distant than ever.

Nor is there an obvious path forward for Washington and Riyadh. With support for ISIS persisting in Saudi Arabia, and the kingdom lopping off heads at a record rate, the convergence of interests grows less apparent, leaving the defiant King ever more isolated. In September, a prince publicly circulated letters calling for the royal family to depose Salman—a bold move that nudged the saga of the House of Saud into the realm of Shakespeare, whose plays about royalty reliably end badly. ◻

TRENDING

TERRORISM
British extremist Siddhartha Dhar was **dubbed the new "Jihadi John"** after reports named him as the latest masked spokesman for ISIS. Dhar, a former bounce-house salesman, threatened PM David Cameron in an execution video that emerged on Jan. 3.

CRIME
Ethan Couch, the Texas teen **notorious for using a defense of "affluenza"** after killing four in a 2013 drunk-driving crash, was held in Mexico City after fleeing the U.S. late last year in violation of his parole. Couch's Mexican lawyer is trying to delay his deportation.

SCIENCE
The existence of **four new elements** (113, 115, 117, 118), discovered by scientists in the U.S., Japan and Russia, was confirmed by the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry on Dec. 30, completing the bottom row of the periodic table.

BRIEF HISTORY

Presidential power

PRESIDENT OBAMA ANNOUNCED ON Jan. 4 that he will take executive action to combat gun violence, sidestepping a Congress that has thwarted his legislative attempts. Will his orders endure? Here's how similar situations played out in the past.

IMMIGRATION REFORM After Congress failed to pass a comprehensive bill, Obama directed his Administration in 2014 to grant temporary legal status and work permits to over 4 million undocumented immigrants who are the parents of legal residents.
Status: stalled. A judge issued an injunction on the order while mostly Republican-led states challenge it in court.

MILITARY DESEGREGATION After Southern Senators threatened to filibuster related bills, President Harry Truman on July 26, 1948, signed Executive Order 9981, which banned segregation in the U.S. armed forces.
Status: successful. Although the military initially resisted the change, it was mostly integrated by the end of the Korean War.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY In direct defiance of the Confederate states, President Abraham Lincoln issued an order on Jan. 1, 1863, that emancipated slaves in the rebel territories and allowed blacks to serve alongside Union forces.
Status: successful. The move served as a prequel to the eventual abolishment of slavery in the U.S.

—MAYA RHODAN

President Truman in 1946 ›

MURDER OF A MAYOR Mourners in Pueblo Viejo, Mexico, carry the coffin of Gisela Mota, mayor of Temixco, who was slain in her home on Jan. 2, hours after she took office. Three suspects have been arrested in Mota's death, which Morelos Governor Graco Ramírez blamed on the drug-trafficking gang Los Rojos. So far, an estimated 100 mayors have been assassinated during the country's war on drug cartels. *Photograph by Tony Rivera—AP*

DIGITS

60 million

Estimated liters of alcohol drunk in Iran each year despite an alcohol ban, roughly the same amount as in the state of Wisconsin

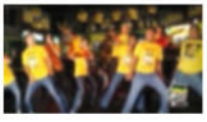
ROUNDUP

Political pop songs

A "hymn" by Germany's far-right Pegida movement controversially shot to the top of Amazon's sales charts in Germany in December, prompting the online retailer to announce it would donate the profits to a charity supporting refugees. Pegida is one of several political groups to rally support with original tunes:

CHINA
The Communist Party released an English-language **music video about its latest five-year plan** *(shi san wu)* in October. Various cartoon characters rap to listeners: "If you want to know what China's gonna do/ Best pay attention to the *shi san wu.*"

RUSSIA
Andrei Ivantsov, a member of the Liberal Democratic Party, **released the song "Crimea!"** in honor of Russia's annexation of the peninsula in April 2014. In the music video, the parliamentarian sings in snowy woods and by the seaside.



SOUTH AFRICA
The African National Congress regularly drops **original songs to rally supporters.** In a 2014 Western Cape campaign video, a chorus of people in bright yellow shirts dance and sing the lines, "Oh, lalalalala/ Let us vote ANC/ Now's the time."

ITALY
Ex-PM Silvio Berlusconi **co-wrote the anthem "Forza Italia"** to unite his party of the same name during its founding in 1993. The song was played at events, with karaoke-style subtitles for fans to sing along.
—Julia Zorthian

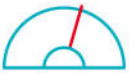
DATA

WORLDWIDE WEB SPEEDS

The *State of the Internet* report by tech firm Akamai ranks the world's countries by Internet speed in average megabits per second (Mbps). Here's a sample:

1. South Korea
20.5 Mbps

9. Latvia
14.5 Mbps



16. U.S.
12.6 Mbps

68. Mexico
5.5 Mbps

91. China
3.7 Mbps

144. Yemen
0.9 Mbps

COUCH: AP; ELEMENTS, TRUMAN; GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATIONS BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

DIGITS SOURCE: IRAN'S MINISTRY OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

TRENDING

WEAPONS

North Korean state media claimed Jan. 6 that the secretive nation had **tested its first-ever hydrogen bomb,** resulting in condemnation from the U.S. and China. Although experts believe North Korea has tested four atomic bombs since 2006, a successful test of the exponentially more powerful H-bomb would be a huge step for the country's weapons program. But the White House expressed "significant" doubts, saying "initial analysis is not consistent" with the claim. North Korea's leader, Kim Jong Un, announced the development of an H-bomb in December.

BUSINESS

The U.S. Department of Justice and the Environmental Protection Agency **sued Volkswagen on Jan. 4 for allegedly violating the Clean Air Act,** four months after the German automaker admitted to systematic cheating on emissions tests. The firm could be fined billions of dollars.

THE RISK REPORT

The top 5 geopolitical risks for 2016

By Ian Bremmer

IT'S BEEN A JARRING START TO THE YEAR, with a spat between Saudi Arabia and Iran and plunging financial markets in China. But the Eurasia Group, the political-risk consultancy I founded and oversee, believes the top risk for 2016 centers on the erosion of a relationship that has been a cornerstone of global stability.

1. THE HOLLOW ALLIANCE

The transatlantic partnership has been the world's most important alliance for nearly 70 years, but it's now weaker and less relevant than at any point in decades. The U.S. no longer plays a decisive role in addressing any of Europe's top priorities. Russia's continuing intervention in Ukraine and the conflict in Syria will expose transatlantic divisions. As U.S. and European paths diverge, there will be no one to play international firefighter—and global conflicts, particularly in the Middle East, will be left to rage.

2. A CLOSED EUROPE

In 2016, a core conflict will emerge between open Europe and closed Europe—and the combination of inequality, refugees, terrorism and grassroots politics will pose an unprecedented challenge to the principles on which the E.U. was founded. Europe's open borders will face particular pressure, while there is a very real risk that Britain could choose to leave the E.U. Europe's economics will hold together in 2016, but its broader meaning and social fabric will not.

Russian President Putin, left, and U.S. President Obama will be at odds again this year

3. THE CHINA FOOTPRINT

Never has a country at China's modest level of economic and political development left such a vast footprint. It is the only country of scale today with a real global economic strategy. The recognition in 2016 that China is both the most important and the most uncertain driver of a series of global outcomes will increasingly unnerve other international players who aren't ready for it, don't understand or agree with Chinese priorities and won't know how to respond to the change.

4. ISIS AND "FRIENDS"

The Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria is the world's most powerful terrorist organization, with followers and imitators in places from Nigeria to the Philippines. But the international response to its rise has been inadequate, misdirected and at cross-purposes. For 2016, this problem will prove unfixable, and ISIS and other terrorist organizations friendly to its aims will take advantage of that. The most vulnerable states will remain those whom ISIS has explicit reasons to target—France, Russia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and the U.S.—and those with the largest numbers of unintegrated Sunni Muslims, like Iraq and Lebanon.

5. SAUDI ARABIA'S RIFTS

The Saudi kingdom faces a growing risk of instability this year, and its increasing geopolitical isolation will lead it to act more aggressively across the Middle East—as we have already seen this month. The threat of discord within the Saudi royal family is on the rise, and a scenario of open conflict—unthinkable before King Salman's January 2015 ascension—has become entirely realistic. The key source of external Saudi anxiety is Iran, its regional rival, soon to be free of sanctions. Now that Iran has responded with open hostility to the Saudi execution of a top Shi'ite cleric, we can expect an intensification of their proxy conflicts in Syria, Yemen and elsewhere in the region.

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Milestones

DIED
Dale Bumpers, 90, former Democratic governor and Senator from Arkansas. Shortly after retiring from the Senate, he returned to defend then President Bill Clinton with a powerful closing argument during his impeachment trial.

DIED
Vilmos Zsigmond, 85, cinematographer behind such classics as *The Deer Hunter, The Black Dahlia* and *Close Encounters of the Third Kind,* for which he won an Academy Award. His career included collaborations with Martin Scorsese and Woody Allen.

DIED

Natalie Cole
Singer and songwriter

By David Foster

NATALIE COLE WAS THE MOST UN-STAR-like superstar you could ever meet. She was someone you could confide in, with a sympathetic ear and generosity of heart.

We shared countless hours together in the studio and touring the world. Sitting behind the piano while she commanded the stage provided the best view of how quickly she connected with her audience. She knew how to establish an immediate rapport, as though she were singing to each listener individually. Producing "Unforgettable" was so musically gratifying, and that the public responded with such enthusiasm was the cherry on top for us both. Hearing her voice blend with her dad's—the brilliant Nat "King" Cole—was a moment I'll cherish.

Natalie is one of those rare artists who don't just perform songs—they inhabit them. I use the present tense, because her music, just like her father's, will live on for generations.

Foster is a Grammy Award–winning musician and the chairman of Verve Records

Cole, who died on Dec. 31 at 65, at a performance in 2009

NEW GOVERNMENT FOOD GUIDELINES

The 2015 dietary guidelines, which offer advice on healthy eating while also influencing countless nutrition and food programs, were issued on Jan. 7. The recommendations, which for the first time put a cap on added sugars, are bound to be the topic of much discussion—and debate.

THE BASIC ADVICE
According to the new guidelines, Americans should follow a healthy eating pattern that includes a variety of fruits and vegetables, grains (at least half of which should be whole) and a range of proteins and oils. Despite evidence suggesting full-fat dairy might have a place in a healthy diet, low-fat and fat-free options are still advised.

THE NEW LIMITS
Consumption of saturated and trans fats, added sugars and sodium should be limited, say the guidelines. For the first time, Americans are also being told to consume less than 10% of their daily calories from added sugars. There is no longer an explicit limit on cholesterol, which is present in whole eggs.

THE MISSING INGREDIENTS
Despite a growing body of research that red and processed meat is linked to cancer and heart disease, the new guidelines don't advise limiting intake but suggest Americans should diversify their protein sources and limit saturated fat—which is higher in some meats—to no more than 10% of daily calories.

ROUNDUP

Next-gen gadgets

Every January, tech companies flaunt innovations at CES in Las Vegas, offering a preview of upcoming trends. Here's a look at some breakout products:

SMARTER DRONES
Parrot's high-speed Disco can launch and land without a pilot.

CONNECTED CARS
Faraday Future is building customizable electric cars *(right);* Amazon's voice assistant aims to start cars from the living room.

HIGH-TECH FRIDGES
A camera in Samsung's Family Hub allows for a peek inside while out shopping.

—Lisa Eadicicco

STRAWBERRIES: DANNY KIM FOR TIME; COLE: AP; CAR: FARADAY FUTURE

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The protesters meet the press at their snowy redoubt in rural Oregon

NATION

Why the feds held back in Oregon

WHEN A GROUP OF GUN-TOTING extremists seized a federal building in the remote high desert of southeast Oregon on Jan. 2, law enforcement responded with an approach that looked a lot like doing nothing. No uniformed FBI agents appeared in the snow, and Washington officials didn't promise a swift resolution to the standoff.

Such restraint may seem strange, given the militia's gripes about government tyranny. But the strategy was sound. "The key is to be very cautious," says Tom Kubic, a former FBI special agent in charge of the bureau's 1996 showdown with the antigovernment Montana Freemen, which ended peacefully after 81 days.

Disastrous clashes like the 1992 shoot-out at Idaho's Ruby Ridge and the 1993 siege of the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, became rallying cries for the radical right and a source of inspiration to domestic terrorists like Timothy McVeigh, whose 1995 bombing of an Oklahoma City federal building killed 168. Officials didn't want the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge to become a similar touchstone.

Holed up in an empty bird sanctuary without hostages, the armed men posed no imminent threat and offered only vague demands to restore local control of federal land. They had arrived in Oregon to protest long prison sentences for two local ranchers convicted of arson. "Lives could be lost," warned Ammon Bundy, the leader of the group and a son of Cliven Bundy, a Nevada cattle rancher whose refusal to pay more than $1 million in fees and fines for grazing rights on federal land triggered a 2014 standoff between antigovernment extremists and the feds. The government retreated from that fight and has so far declined to prosecute the family.

Not everyone was thrilled with the feds' approach, given the shows of force that have greeted urban protests in recent years. "One could not imagine a group of armed black men taking over an unoccupied federal building," said Representative Donna Edwards, a Maryland Democrat. Former FBI agent Robin Montgomery, who ran the bureau's critical incident response group, acknowledged the frustration. "It does embolden folks to see the government will not take aggressive action," he says. "It's a conundrum." —ALEX ALTMAN

CAMPAIGN NOTES

Cutting through the 2016 hype

Despite wall-to-wall presidential coverage, some of the best stories of the campaign have been lost in the shuffle.

BERNIE SANDERS COULD HELP PICK THE GOP NOMINEE

The largest bloc of voters in New Hampshire is registered independents, who can vote in either the Republican or the Democratic primary. That means Sanders' viability after Iowa will help determine the size and makeup of the Republican electorate. If he is competitive with Hillary Clinton, strategists expect less support for GOP populists; if he fades, a conservative swing in the Granite State should follow. It's an only-in-America mind bender.

IT'S THE TUITION AND PILLS, STUPID!

Despite stagnant wages and terrorist attacks, the political debate in early states has been dominated by once tangential issues: the rising cost of college and the opioid-addiction epidemic. Democrats and Republicans have gone all-in on both issues, promising more federal help for struggling families. Grassroots democracy still matters.

THE POLLS AREN'T PREDICTIVE—YET

Two weeks before the Iowa caucuses in 2008, the eventual GOP nominee, John McCain, polled in fourth place nationally, and Hillary Clinton was still the prohibitive favorite over Barack Obama. Newt Gingrich was beating Mitt Romney nationally on New Year's Day in 2012. Polls are useful, but this race is just now getting serious.
—Philip Elliott and Zeke J. Miller

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SCAN TO
DISCOVER MORE

SINGAPORE
AIRLINES
A great way to fly

A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER

A colossal legacy

A statue of Mao Zedong towers about 120 ft. (36.6 m) in China's central Henan province on Jan. 4. Chinese media reported that donations for the megastructure of the late ruler, who died nearly 40 years ago, eclipsed $450,000.

Photograph by ChinaFotoPress —Getty Images

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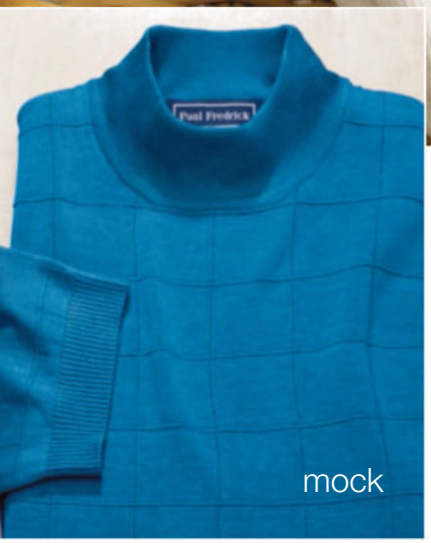

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The View

'THIS REALLY COMES DOWN TO WHETHER I CAN ENCOURAGE … WOMEN TO VOTE FOR THE FIRST WOMAN PRESIDENT.' —PAGE 28

Steven Avery has already served time in prison for a crime he did not commit; a new Netflix series suggests the same thing is happening again

ENTERTAINMENT

The hidden danger of TV's true-crime obsession

By Daniel D'Addario

ON CHANGE.ORG, MORE THAN 300,000 people have signed a petition demanding that Steven Avery, a convicted murderer, be released from prison. The Wisconsin man, the petition argues, was the victim of "unconstitutional mistreatment at the hands of corrupt local law enforcement"; accordingly, his trial should be thrown out and he should be "exonerated at once by pardon."

But the impetus for these demands isn't the discovery of new evidence or the revelation of a secret witness. It's a 10-episode docuseries on Netflix.

Making a Murderer is part of a new wave of interactive true-crime entertainment. Whereas Nancy Grace openly fries her subjects and *Dateline* wraps messy trials into snackable segments, this breakout series—like the podcast *Serial* and HBO's *The Jinx* before it—explores a single story over multiple episodes. That structure allows creators to present all the relevant components of a case, they say, and let viewers draw their own conclusions. "We weren't there to solve the crime. We were there to document the experience of being accused in this country," *Murderer* co-creator Moira Demos has said. "We'd always hoped the series would promote a dialogue." In other words, this isn't just a TV show. It's a call for social justice.

By that measure, *Murderer* is remarkably effective. We meet its subject, Avery, as a folk hero who has just been released from prison after serving 18 years for an assault he did not commit. (He's freed by DNA testing.) Two years later, Avery gets arrested for

COURTESY NETFLIX

murder by the same cops he's suing for negligence—and using a mix of media clips, trial footage, narrative title cards and original interviews, Demos and co-creator Laura Ricciardi recount the shadowy events that lead to his conviction, one episode at a time. It's both enthralling and enraging.

But is it accurate? In some ways, yes: everything depicted on the show actually happened. Yet at its core, *Murderer* is still a reality-TV series. That means central figures are "cast" in roles (hero, villain, victim) and its events are heavily edited to ensure that viewers know who's who, just as they would on an episode of *Survivor* or *The Real Housewives*. That's the nature of condensing more than 30 years of legal drama into 10 episodes. Nonetheless, it has given rise to one of the sharpest critiques of *Murderer* so far: Avery's prosecutor, Ken Kratz, alleged that the show left out crucial facts to advance a pro-Avery agenda, a sentiment echoed by several Internet sleuths. (Demos and Ricciardi deny those claims.)

None of which means fans aren't allowed to feel angry or sad or even determined to fight for change. Although the true-crime genre may have started with chilly, removed storytelling, as in Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood,* there's a reason the melodrama of *Murderer* and *Serial* is resonating right now. A growing number of people sense "that the American judicial system has serious problems," says David Schmid, an associate professor of English at the University of Buffalo who has written extensively about the cultural impact of true crime. "These shows give them a way to work through their feelings about that." Errol Morris, director of the documentary *The Thin Blue Line,* says true-crime fans are drawn to "the belief that through investigation and ratiocination we can come to a conclusion about the world."

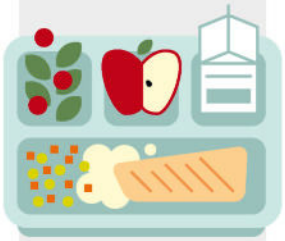
Still, true-crime characters are real people, and acting out against them on the basis of a set of highly curated facts can be ill-advised if not harmful. According to Jay Wilds, a key figure in *Serial*'s Season 1 case, the podcast's fans have videotaped his house and posted his personal information on Reddit. And in the days following *Murderer*'s premiere, the Yelp page for Kratz's law firm was inundated with negative reviews, including a re-airing of embarrassing indiscretions unrelated to his prosecution of Avery.

Dean Strang, one of Avery's lawyers, has said this vitriol reminds him of what he faced in 2005 when the public became convinced his client was guilty after watching local news reports. Now that Strang is being praised, however, he's just as skeptical of the sentiment. "Both of those experiences are artificial and distorting," he has said, because they represent only "what's going on in fevered social media"—not what actually happened, in the courtroom or in the case. ◻

DIGITS

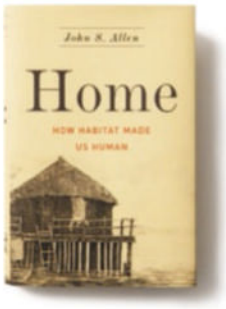
29%

Estimated improvement in the nutritional quality of U.S. school lunches since 2012 thanks to the Healthy Hunger-Free Kids Act, which mandated that cafeterias serve more fruit and vegetables (among other stipulations); researchers found that participation in school-lunch programs remained virtually unchanged, refuting concerns that students might reject healthier options



THE NUTSHELL

Home

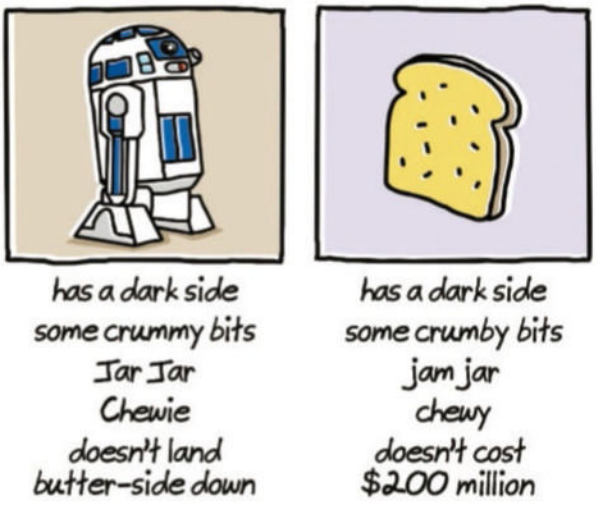


TOOLS, LANGUAGE and controlled fire are often cited as critical advancements in *Homo sapiens'* evolution. But in his new book, neuroanthropologist John S. Allen argues that our move into dwellings may be just as important—if not more so. Beyond providing protection from the elements and predators, homes created spaces where complex social interactions could take place and mates and offspring could become families. They also enabled early humans to sleep securely and soundly, which has been shown to increase brain functions like learning and memory formation. Dwellings are "critical not only for resting but also for thinking," Allen writes. "By removing us from the distractions and stimuli of the outside world and providing a wholly predictable environment," they give us "an opportunity to use our mental powers to better deal with that world." Hence the word used to describe that feeling we get when we stray too long: homesickness.

—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

Star Wars vs. toast



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

SNAPSHOT

Chicago's urban farm

Cold winters aren't known for cultivating fresh vegetables—but that may be changing thanks to a groundbreaking greenhouse that recently opened atop a soap factory on the Windy City's South Side. At 75,000 sq. ft., the sprawling garden is likely the largest rooftop farm in the world, says Viraj Puri, CEO of urban agriculture group Gotham Greens, which runs the project. The hydroponic growing system aims to sprout 10 million leafy greens and herbs annually, which will feed hundreds of local grocery stores and restaurants, offering Chicagoans a taste of the daily harvest year-round. "It's an adaptive reuse of urban space," Puri says. *—Julie Shapiro*

QUICK TAKE

The new business of breast-feeding

By Courtney Jung

IN THEORY, BREAST-FEEDING IS FREE—AN intimate interaction between mother and child exempt from the market. But it has also emerged as something people may not expect: a billion-dollar business.

The shift started about 10 years ago, when electric breast pumps became a standard feature of breast-feeding. But it really took off after 2013, when the Affordable Care Act was reformed to require insurance companies in the U.S. to cover the cost of breast pumps for new mothers, driving unprecedented demand. Medela, a leading manufacturer in the U.S., stepped up production by 50% to keep up—and annual industry sales are on track to hit $2.6 billion by 2020. (That's on top of the already ample market for breast-feeding accessories, which include clothes, pillows and supplements.)

The widespread use of pumps in turn fuels a secondary market for human milk. In growing numbers, mothers who have filled their fridges and freezers with bags, bottles and ice-cube trays of breast milk—more than their own babies can consume—are selling it for $1 to $3 per ounce on sites like onlythebreast.com. Customers range from other mothers to athletes hoping to boost performance to anyone eager to try a new superfood. Some moms are even selling their milk directly to companies that use human breast milk to make nutritional supplements. It's all part of a strange new reality in which breast-feeding is being propelled by not only a drive for sustenance but also a drive for profit.

Jung is the author of Lactivism: How Feminists and Fundamentalists, Hippies and Yuppies, and Physicians and Politicians Made Breastfeeding Big Business and Bad Policy

GOTHAM GREENS: ILLUSTRATIONS BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

HOW TO

BEAT WINTER BLUES

Seasonal affective disorder (SAD)—a type of depression most prevalent in colder, darker months—affects roughly 15 million Americans each year. We asked Dr. Norman Rosenthal, a SAD expert and the author of *Winter Blues,* for tips to thwart it.

EAT SMART
Foods like legumes, oats and almonds—which have a low glycemic index—will give your body a long-lasting energy boost.

MAKE PLANS
In addition to talking with a therapist, which has been shown to relieve SAD symptoms, making plans with friends is a great way to avoid feeling isolated.

FIND LIGHT
Rosenthal suggests going for a 20-minute walk early in the morning, when natural light is brightest. There are also special light-therapy boxes that can illuminate an office or a cubicle.

STAY ACTIVE
Several studies have found that exercise can alleviate and even prevent depression, likely in part because of the release of feel-good chemicals in the brain.
—Alexandra Sifferlin

Hillary and women: Can gender be a force multiplier?

By Jay Newton-Small

Clinton is betting on women to make her the first female presidential nominee

HILLARY CLINTON HAS A SIMPLE NEW strategy to win the White House. "At the end of the day, this really comes down to whether I can encourage and mobilize and turn out women to vote for the first woman President," Clinton told me late last year, in an interview for my new book, *Broad Influence: How Women Are Changing the Way America Works*. "I'm going to do my best to make that case."

It's hard to imagine Clinton uttering those words in her last campaign. Her pollster and chief strategist back then, Mark Penn, was convinced that America wouldn't elect a woman unless she campaigned with a tough-talking macho exterior and avoided gender-based appeals. Her campaign brass advised Clinton against giving a speech on gender, even after Barack Obama delivered lauded remarks on race. Much of what would have gone in that never delivered address—calling the White House "the highest, hardest glass ceiling"—was spoken only when she conceded defeat.

This time around, after four years as Secretary of State with polls giving her high points for leadership qualities, Clinton is betting she can take advantage of a country on the cusp of a sea change. Studies have found that when women make up somewhere between 20% to 30% of any traditionally male-dominated body, whether it be a legislature, a corporate board, a Navy ship or an appellate court, they begin to change the way things are done. Women now account for 20% of Congress, 30% of upper-level civil service and political appointees and 35% of the federal bench. The final frontier is the executive office suite. Though women regularly outnumber men at the polls, only six of the nation's 50 governors are women, along with just 18% of mayors.

To break through, Clinton must get a broad cross section of women to vote for her. And while she does well with older women, she has long struggled among younger and unmarried women, who voted as a group for Obama in 2008, swinging 16 primaries in the process. This year, her approval among young people, defined as 18-to-34-year-olds, is upside down, with 44% saying they are favorable and 48% saying they are unfavorable.

Broad Influence *explores what happens when women reach critical mass in the workforce*

'Women in general are better listeners, are more collegial, more open to new ideas.'

HILLARY CLINTON

To win over these voters, who tend to like a change message, Clinton has begun to argue that electing a woman will be a transformation in itself. "There are some areas where our own life experiences really prepare us to be more receptive," Clinton told me on Oct. 8. "I just think women in general are better listeners, are more collegial, more open to new ideas and how to make things work in a way that looks for win-win outcomes." On the trail, Clinton frequently cites the fact that women earn more than 50% of college degrees and 60% of graduate degrees in the U.S. Now they need to spread through all levels of the workforce. "The private sector is much more impervious to public pressure," Clinton says. "Therefore we have to create … a program that can provide that push to get more private-sector involvement in hiring and promoting women to positions of responsibility." By 2030, when the baby-boomer generation fully retires, the workforce will be short 26 million workers. There are only two ways to bridge this shortfall: new immigration and bringing women fully into the workforce.

One model that interests Clinton is a six-year-old government program in Australia that asks companies to publicly report the progress they are making in hiring and training women and keeping them after maternity leave. "I think [a public-private partnership] is a very good idea," Clinton says. "I do want to encourage and find ways to incentivize corporations to promote more women and to have more women on their boards of directors."

So here's the test: at a December Clinton town hall in Mason City, Iowa, first-time voters Susan Straka, 19, and Ali Reil, 20, both said they planned to caucus for Bernie Sanders. But they were not yet certain. "It depends what's happening in the room. If she's losing, I'll caucus for her," Reil added. "She's a woman, and that's a big part of it." □

TOM WILLIAMS—GETTY IMAGES

IN THE ARENA

Why race and tribe trump economics in the current presidential campaign

By Joe Klein

THE BIG DOG IS GETTING OLD, AND A LITTLE SCRUFFY. BILL Clinton returned to New Hampshire, a natural adrenaline boost in the past, on the first working day of the new year and could barely be heard, despite the amplification. His voice, never a reliable instrument, had abandoned him. He was gaunt and gray, with salmon skin, dressed in a brown tweed jacket and V-neck sweater over a checked shirt, looking very much like a retiree. He descended the steps from the stage at the Exeter town hall gingerly. A vegan now, he seems desperately in need—spiritually, at least—of a cheeseburger.

He is still brilliant, of course. He can still cut through the most complicated policy snarls and make them comprehensible—especially to what political scientists call "low information" voters, the blue collar guys who used to admire his McDonald's and lounge-singer lifestyle but have drifted Trumpward this year. (Note to Donald: Bill Clinton's sex life has never hurt him with the vast majority of the public and seems decisively grandfathered now.)

The message was pretty much the same as ever, with a nod to the current rhetorical ugliness. It's still the economy, stupid. "If everyone has a job, it reduces tensions," he said in Exeter, implying that paycheck migraine is causing the anger rampant in the country. But, he said, there were all sorts of hopeful opportunities out there. Climate change was an opportunity to build a "modern infrastructure" and create jobs. Equal pay for women, family and medical leave, early education—his wife's favorites—were "an economic strategy." The argument felt as frail as he looked.

Clinton's is a mild version of an eternal theme on the left: the upper class divides and conquers the workers by pitting them against one another. Bernie Sanders said it plainly on *Face the Nation* in December: "What Trump has done with some success has taken that [class based] anger, taken those [economic] fears—which are legitimate—and converted them into anger against Mexicans, anger against Muslims." No doubt, there is some truth to this. But I wonder if the Democrats aren't missing a much larger boat in 2016.

OVER THE HOLIDAYS, I read a book called *Pandaemonium: Ethnicity in International Politics,* by Daniel Patrick Moynihan. It is a slim but pungent volume, published in 1993, allowing Moynihan to celebrate the end of the Soviet Union, an event he had long predicted. The supersonic dissolution of the Evil Empire and Yugoslavia gave him fresh fodder for a theory he'd peddled for much of his life: that ethnicity was a more profound force than social class in the affairs of humans. He was a stubborn tribalist. It is an argument that seems freakishly prescient after the international dissolution frenzy of the past 20 years. Just ask the Kurds, Houthis, Czechs or Slovaks. It was not a force that Moynihan particularly liked, but one he respected, and worried about, particularly here, in the world's great bulwark against antic tribalism, the United States.

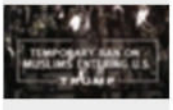
Moynihan would be having an anthropological field day in the current presidential campaign, a contest in which race and tribe have—dare I say—trumped economics at the bleeding heart of the matter. Sanders can argue all he wants that white workers cheer Trump's anti-immigrant tirades because of the jobs the Latinos "take," but the real heat is being generated by changing demographics, a nation slipping from white to polychrome—and further splintered by new electronic tribes: Fox, ESPN, BET, Univision.

Despite their vaunted *inclusiveness,* a word Clinton used frequently in New Hampshire, the Democrats have slipped into a backdoor tribalism as well. On its web page, the Democratic National Committee lists 18 different affinity groups you can affiliate with—according to race, ethnicity, disability, gender and gender choice. During the 2014 election, I heard Democrats proposing policies that appealed to many of these groups, but few that appealed to Americans as a whole.

I suspect tribal fears will dominate class inequities this year, as they usually do. We seem a perpetually unhappy place, filled with bilious voters. You might be curious about the last time we were happy, when a majority of Americans thought the country was on the "right track." It was in April of 2003, as we went to war in Iraq, according to New York *Times*/CBS News polling—by 56% to 36% we were a nation of happy warriors, our tribes temporarily subsumed. There is a lesson in that: there is joy in unity, however foolishly forged. "[We're] atomized and hunkered down in our bunkers," Bill Clinton said in Exeter, pining for a country where, as he always says, "the things we have in common are more important than the things that divide us." ☐

SHIFTING THE TONE

In New Hampshire, Bill Clinton took repeated jabs at the divisive rhetoric dominating the GOP race: "America is a place that welcomes all people who are willing to treat other people like they want to be treated."



In a reference to Donald Trump's call to temporarily bar Muslims from entering the U.S., Clinton said, "One of our great meal tickets in the next 20 years is that there is somebody here from everywhere else."

CLINTON: GETTY IMAGES

PHOTOGRAPH BY SPENCER PLATT

Shredding the campaign rule book, Trump forged a connection with angry voters and rode it to the front of the GOP field

THE ART OF THE STEAL

How Donald Trump took the Republican Party from its old bosses

By David Von Drehle

There is a reason most presidential candidates stump through diners and living rooms this time of year. They can't fill a bigger room.

Trump drew thousands in Lowell, Mass., on Jan. 4

And then there is Donald J. Trump.

On the second day of January, in the Gulf Coast town of Biloxi, Miss., at least 13,000 stood for hours in a stinging chill to pack an entire sports arena for Trump, and when that venue was full, the overflow spilled into a second megaspace nearby. Trump called it the biggest crowd in Mississippi political history, which is exactly what you'd expect him to say, and also entirely plausible.

A few days earlier, Trump had packed a convention hall in Council Bluffs, Iowa. Two days later, he filled the 8,000-seat Paul Tsongas Center in Lowell, Mass., with people who waited on line in subfreezing cold. The next night, after standing for two hours in single-digit temperatures, locals filled the equivalent of two high school gymnasia on the Vermont–New Hampshire border to catch Trump's revival show.

Given these crowds, the unprecedented Trump-driven television ratings for GOP debates and his unsinkable run at the top of the national polls—a streak of more than five months and counting—even the most mainstream Republicans are coming to grips with an idea they have resisted since last summer. This could be their nominee. And they are asking themselves, could they stop worrying and, perhaps, learn to love the Donald?

Leading Republicans unhappily find themselves deep in "probing" conversation, asking, "perhaps he wouldn't be

FIRST PAGES: GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: RICK FRIEDMAN—CORBIS

so bad," says veteran strategist and lobbyist Ed Rogers. True, Trump is a wild card, a flamethrower, a man with no known party loyalties and no coherent political principles, a thrice-married casino mogul and reality-TV star, a narcissist and even a demagogue. On the other hand: Biloxi.

At a time when the crown princes of Republican politics can't mount so much as a two-car parade, Trump is drawing the biggest crowds by far. He has the largest social-media footprint—again, by far—and lodges the sharpest attacks on Hillary Clinton while attracting the greatest number of potential recruits to Republican ranks. As a result, Washington insiders from both parties are now calling around to GOP heavies, asking, "Do you know anybody on Trump's campaign? Who is on his foreign-policy team? I need to get to know them fast." Republican National Committee chairman Reince Priebus, who entertained a discussion of Stop Trump strategies at a meeting late last year, now consults regularly with the front runner by phone. Even if the GOP could resist, should it? "He's got the mo, he's got the masses," says Rick Hohlt, a GOP strategist. "He's attracting a new class of voters." Efforts to stop him have failed miserably; meanwhile, Trump may be getting smarter as a candidate, adds Hohlt. "He knows when to push and when to back off."

The man is moving people, and politics does not get more basic than that. Trump is a bonfire in a field of damp kindling—an overcrowded field of governors and former governors and junior Senators still trying to strike a spark. His nearest rival, Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, has traction in Iowa among the evangelical bloc and—in contrast to Trump— is a tried-and-true conservative. But with little more than half the support Trump boasts in the RealClearPolitics average of national polls, Cruz has a long way to go to show that he can move masses.

Cruz staffers, tellingly, have been studying a 1967 tome titled *Suite 3505* as a playbook for their campaign. This F. Clifton White memoir, long out of print, tells the story of the 1964 Barry Goldwater campaign. That was the last successful populist rebellion inside the Republican Party, propelling a rock-ribbed conservative past the Establishment insiders—just as Cruz hopes to do. But this triumph of intramural knife fighting proved a disaster at general-election time. Goldwater suffered one of the worst defeats in American political history. It's no wonder that GOP leaders are every bit as wary of Cruz as they are of Trump.

In short, the GOP has awakened less than a month from the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary to find itself in bed between a bombshell and a kamikaze. It's a sobering dawn for a political party that seemed, not long ago, just a tweak or two away from glory. Republicans dominate America's state legislatures and governors' mansions. They control both houses of Congress. So why is their electorate leaning toward the outstretched grip of such a man as Trump?

And could Trump be a sign of something bigger even than himself?

TRADITIONAL GOP POWER BROKERS have long since lost count of the indignities Trump has inflicted on their rites and rituals. Since entering the race in June with a fantastical promise to wall off America's southern border and send the bill to Mexico, Trump has shredded the political rule book, scattering the pieces from his private helicopter. Have mouth, will travel. Policies that would be preposterous coming from anyone else—like barring all Muslims from entering the country or hiking U.S. tariffs while somehow erasing trade barriers erected by other nations—sound magical to his supporters when served up by their hero. Outrages that would sink an ordinary candidate, like mocking a person who has a congenital disease or giving a pass to Vladimir Putin for the murder of Russian journalists, lifted Trump atop the polls and then helped keep him there. What Flubber was to physics, Trump is to politics: an antidote to gravity, cooked up by a quirky but prodigious amateur.

The GOP has awakened less than a month from the Iowa caucuses to find itself between a bombshell and a kamikaze

Other candidates work to relate their lives to the struggles of ordinary voters. Trump does the opposite, encouraging Americans to savor vicariously his billionaire's privilege of saying whatever he damn well pleases. "I love Donald Trump because he's so totally politically incorrect. He's gone after every group," says Greg Casady, 61, an Army veteran who joined an immense Trump rally in Council Bluffs, Iowa. "He's spending his own bucks—therefore he doesn't have to play the politically correct game. He says what we wish we could say but we can't afford to anymore."

Trump is an anomaly, but not the only one in this 2016 campaign. There is Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, an avowed socialist who leads the early polls in the New Hampshire Democratic primary—despite the fact that he spent most of his career spurning the Democrats. Though not as shocking or aggressive as Trump, Sanders is no less the darling of a discontented army. He too draws large audiences—but unlike Trump, Sanders faces an even stronger opponent in former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

Big Money, the supposed superpower of post–*Citizens United* politics, is a dud so far. Super-PAC bets by various billionaires have done nothing to fire up such candidates as former Florida governor Jeb Bush. Bush has filled screens in key states with millions of dollars in both positive and negative ads. The result: falling poll numbers. Touted as a front runner a year ago, Bush is mired in single digits and rang in the new year by announcing that he was scrapping a round of ads in favor of more ground troops in early-voting states.

Big Media too has been brought low. The collapse of Trump was predicted so often, so erroneously, in so many outlets that the spectacle was almost comic, like a soap opera that keeps killing off the same deathless character. Televised debates became seminars in media ethics, with candidates delivering stern lectures to their questioners, while off-screen, campaigns threatened to boycott

Sanders marshaled an army of discontented Democrats, putting pressure on Clinton

networks and blacklist reporters.

What if all of these groundswells are part of the same tsunami? By coming to grips with Trump, Republicans might begin grasping the future of presidential politics, as the digital forces that have upended commerce and communications in recent years begin to shake the bedrock of civic life.

Disintermediation is a long word for a seemingly simple idea: dumping the middleman. It came into use a half-century ago to describe changes in the banking business. A generation later, the term described a key concept of the Internet age. In one field after another, the power of networked computing swept middlemen out of the picture. Ubiquitous retailers like RadioShack and Waldenbooks have either downsized or vanished as their customers go online to buy directly from manufacturers and warehousers. Netflix shutters the Blockbuster chain by mailing movies directly to viewers—then offers streaming, which cuts out the mailbox as well. Craigslist drains the advertising lifeblood from local newspapers, and local libraries reinvent themselves after the web puts the world in your pocket. It's a familiar story, one of the megatrends of our era.

Donald Trump is history's most disintermediated presidential front runner. He has sidestepped the traditional middlemen—party, press, pollsters and pooh-bahs—to sell his candidacy directly to voters, building on a relationship he has nurtured with the public from project to project across decades.

As far back as 1986, Trump began seeding this direct relationship with the public. That was the year he goaded New York City Mayor Ed Koch into handing over the disastrous renovation of the Wollman ice-skating rink in Central Park. The decline of New York was an old story by then, and the ice rink was a sorrow symbol. City bureaucrats had turned a routine rehab into a six-year slog with no end in sight. Trump took the reins, and the project took less than six months. He cut the ribbon on a beautifully finished rink, completed ahead of schedule and below budget, with live TV there to cover it.

He followed up with more self-styled rescue missions: the East Coast shuttle operations of dying Eastern Airlines, for example, and the ruined paradise of Atlantic City. Launched with fanfare (if often abandoned in silence), these efforts burnished Trump's image as a can-do, cut-the-crap businessman—even as he risked his fortune. This is part of the power of owning your image, free of the mediators. You can tell your own story, even if it is not entirely true. Trump's a fine businessman, with a keen eye for bargains and a knack for leverage. Where he is peerless is as a promoter; he is the Michelangelo of ballyhoo.

A masterstroke in 2004 vaulted him free of remaining middlemen; that's when Trump debuted his television show, *The Apprentice*. Tens of millions of Americans followed the cameras past the gatekeepers and into a direct relationship with the purse-lipped entrepreneur. That this intimacy is an illusion doesn't really matter; it has an undeniable power to create loyal followings for even the unlikeliest characters. From the Kardashians of Rodeo Drive to the Robertsons of *Duck Dynasty,* from the Cake Boss to Honey Boo Boo, the crafted characters of reality TV experience a different kind of stardom

NATE GOWDY

from the TV and movie idols of the past. Fans are encouraged to feel that they know these people, not as fictional characters but as flesh and blood.

Something similar goes on in every celebrity Twitter feed or Instagram account. Properly tended, the social network of skilled disintermediators can grow to encompass tens of millions of people, all sharing a joke or commiserating over a disappointment or comparing breakfasts with their famous "friend." The pop star Taylor Swift's nearly 70 million Twitter followers recently overheard her share a Christmas memory with her brother Austin and chuckled at a picture of her cute elf costume.

Peggy Lemke, 64, from Dows, Iowa, is one of many voters who see what is going on. "Trump is a reality-show phenomenon," she says. "His supporters treat this like *American Idol*. We treat everything like *American Idol*. I'm having a really hard time taking this seriously."

Disintermediation is not entirely new. In 1941, the radio personality W. Lee "Pappy" O'Daniel dealt Lyndon B. Johnson the only defeat of his consummate insider's career. Johnson had the credibility with middlemen, but O'Daniel had a direct connection to his listeners. Nearly 60 years later, the professional wrestler Jesse Ventura used his direct connection with an audience to win a three-way race for governor of Minnesota. But technology now gives the power of direct relationships to everyone, not just media stars; indeed, the line between being a media star and simply having a big Twitter following is blurring into nothingness. It's telling that Trump's rallies often feature appearances by a pair of women who go by the names Diamond and Silk, whose spirited endorsement of Trump on YouTube has been watched by nearly 100,000 people—as many as tune in to some cable news shows.

Trump tends his virtual community with care. Among the candidates, his 5.6 million Twitter followers are matched only by his counterpart at the top of the Democratic polls, Hillary Clinton. Trump has 5.2 million Facebook likes—three times as many as Cruz and 17 times as many as Bush. His 828,000 Instagram followers is nearly a third more than Clinton's 632,000. For many, if not all, of these individuals, their networked relationships with Trump feel closer and more genuine than the images of the candidate they see filtered through middlemen.

This can explain why Trump is unscathed by apparent gaffes and blunders that would kill an ordinary candidate. His followers feel that they already know him. When outraged middlemen wail in disgust on cable news programs and in op-ed columns, they only highlight their irrelevance to the Trumpiverse.

Cruz railed against the party establishment to gain traction in Iowa, while insider favorite Bush has struggled for attention

INDEED, the psychology of disintermediation adds another layer of protection to a figure like Trump. For members of an online network, the death of the middlemen is not some sad side effect of this tidal shift; it is a crusade. Early adopters of Netflix relished the fate of brick-and-mortar video stores, just as Trump voters rejoice in the idea of life without the "lamestream" media. Trump gets this: mocking abuse of his traveling press corps is a staple of his campaign speeches.

The fading power of middlemen is also visible in less garish manifestations than the Trump campaign. For example, voters used to judge candidates in part on their record of government service. Experience was a middleman, a sort of

CRUZ: ERIK S. LESSER—EPA; BUSH: CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—VII FOR TIME

ticket puncher, that stood between the would-be President and the public. Not anymore. A stable of successful GOP governors—Rick Perry of Texas, Bobby Jindal of Louisiana and Scott Walker of Wisconsin—have dropped out, unable to understand the new calculus. As for the three current Senators on the trail—Cruz, Florida's Marco Rubio and Kentucky's Rand Paul—experience is the least of their selling points. All are first-term rookies known for defying party leaders, not for passing legislation. Rubio won office by challenging his party's official choice for the seat. Cruz glories in his reputation as the least popular Senator in the cloakroom: he doesn't need Washington's validation. In fact, it's the last thing he wants.

The three Senators—and their colleague Sanders in the other party—have used the Senate as a foil. What they accomplished as Senators, which is next to nothing, pales in their telling compared with what they refused to do. They did not sell out. They did not compromise. They did not break faith with their followers—a virtue that has replaced the ideal of service to a constituency. With disintermediation, the power to set the campaign agenda shifts from the middlemen to the online networks, and those networks, this year, are very angry. Here, again, Trump is far outrunning his rivals in seizing the momentum. Americans are unhappy about an economy that punishes workers, according to opinion polls and conversations with voters. They are tired of politicians who don't deliver on their promises. Trump's strongest backers are angry about illegal immigration. Cruz channels anger over Obamacare. Sanders mines anger from the opposite end of the spectrum, targeting "Wall Street" and "billionaires" to the seething satisfaction of the Democratic base.

These voters don't want someone to feel their pain; they want someone to mirror their mood. Woe to the candidate who can't growl on cue. Perhaps nothing has hurt the Bush campaign—whose money and endorsements, lavished by middlemen, have fizzled on the launchpad—more than Trump's observation that the former Florida governor is "low energy." Translation: he's not ticked off. Voter anger in this sour season is less a data point than table stakes.

At a late-December rally in Council Bluffs, Trump treated his audience to one of his trademark free-form speeches, which are like nothing in the modern campaign repertoire. He sampled alter egos from talk-radio host to insult comic to the fictional Gordon Gekko. ("I'm greedy," Trump bragged. "Now I'm going to be greedy for the United States.") When he wrapped up, Teresa Raus of nearby Neola, Iowa, waited another 30 minutes for Trump's autograph. Why? "I feel real confident that he can make America better. I believe him," she explained. And yes, she's angry. Other politicians "are liars," Raus continued. "They're all liars. I'm sick of politicians. If he's not running, then I'm not voting."

But if Trump voters are angry, that doesn't mean they're crazy. You meet more state representatives and business owners at his rallies than tinfoil-hat conspiracy buffs. In ways, they are a vanguard, catching sight of a new style of politics and deciding early to throw out the old rules. Their radical democracy helps account for Trump's uncanny resilience: the less he honors the conventions of politics, the more his supporters like him. They aren't buying what the political process is selling. They want to buy direct from the source. "It's like this," says Casady, the Army vet. "We're going to go with this guy sink or swim, and we're not going to change our views. It doesn't matter. It's time for us to do a totally insane thing, because we've lost it all. The times demand it, because nothing else is working."

SOME POWERFUL FORCES inside the GOP will continue to fight Trump to the bitter end. As strong and durable as his support appears to be, the number of Americans who tell pollsters they would not vote for Trump is bigger. Trump's intemperate remarks have alienated millions of Latino, Muslim and women voters. His rash pronouncements are the antithesis of the moderate approach that many citizens still value. His proposed religious test for foreigners who want to come to this country is as inconsistent with America's self-image as linoleum floors in a Trump hotel.

'It's time for us to do a totally insane thing, because we've lost it all. The times demand it.'

—Iowa voter Greg Casady, 61

The problem is that the party is weak at the national level, deeply divided into hostile camps, while Trump has the strength of a technological epoch at his back. Finding a way to live with Trump might not be a choice for the GOP; those might be the terms of surrender that he dictates at the national convention in Cleveland in July. And in private, even top party officials occasionally admit it.

Unless Cruz can continue to rise through the primaries—aided by members of the congressional Freedom Caucus who share his maximal conservatism—or a candidate like Rubio manages to push aside all mainstream rivals to consolidate the anti-Trump vote, the pot-stirring plutocrat may well steamroll through winter into spring with the lion's share of the delegates. They won't stop Trump because they can't stop Trump.

In that case, party insiders may be forced to decide whether to pull every trick in the rule book to keep Trump from the nomination, with all the havoc that would ensue—including a very real chance that the party could split in two. Faced with that prospect, they may decide instead to swallow hard and follow Trump's glowing blond nimbus into battle this fall. "The pundits don't understand it," Marco Rubio told an audience at a recent campaign stop in New Hampshire. "They don't understand why in this election, why aren't the things that worked in the past working again? Why is it that the people with the most money, or the most endorsements, or the one that all the experts thought would be in first place—why aren't they winning?"

Donald Trump will be happy to tell them. —*With reporting by* ALEX ALTMAN/CISCO, TEXAS; KAREN BALL/KANSAS CITY; PHILIP ELLIOTT/CLAREMONT, N.H.; ZEKE J. MILLER/COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA; *and* MICHAEL DUFFY, SAM FRIZELL *and* MICHAEL SCHERER/WASHINGTON

The Panda Doctrine

As their numbers rise, pandas are ever more a tool of Chinese diplomacy

By Hannah Beech/Wolong, China

Dressed in panda costumes, researchers in Wolong, the home of China's panda-conservation efforts, check a 4-month-old female cub

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ADAM DEAN FOR TIME

THE BABY PANDA is not fooled. She's just 4 months old, and still growing into a woolly coat that billows at her haunches, but she is old enough to know better. With the pointed teeth inherited from her carnivorous forebears, the baby chomps down on the arm that is cradling her. The bite confirms the truth, that the pandas gathered around her are not, in fact, pandas, but people dressed in panda suits. Acrylic tastes very different from panda flesh. The baby lets out a bleat and peers at her captor. Through a pair of uneven eyeholes cut into his costume, the man stares back and utters a curse in Sichuanese.

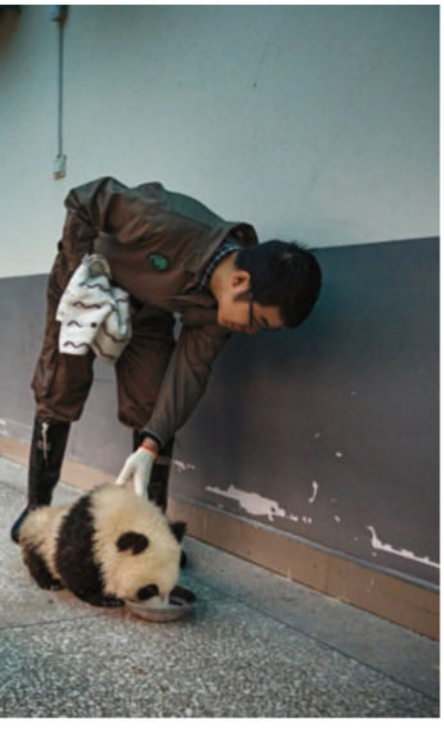
We are standing amid piles of bamboo in Wolong, the misty, mountainous locus of China's national panda project. For decades, researchers in this isolated corner of China's southwestern Sichuan province concentrated on offsetting plummeting wild-panda numbers by trying to breed captive animals. Then, by the 2000s, the project yielded enough cubs, after endless tweaks to panda diet and better matchmaking. Now a glut of captive pandas has led to what Chinese state media have called "a new phase of socialist panda development": coaxing captive pandas back into the wild.

The theory behind the panda outfits is that if the babies don't see humans in human clothes, they will be less likely to beg for bamboo from villagers when they are released into the wild. The disguise seems far-fetched, especially when upright pandas answer cell phones or snap pictures with their paws. But Zhang Hemin, the longtime director of the China Conservation and Research Center for the Giant Panda, dismisses criticism of the sartorial experiment he dreamed up after watching a TV show on camouflaged Chinese soldiers. "When I started, no one believed that I could breed so many baby pandas," he says. "It will take 25 to 30 years, but I think we can succeed in introducing pandas into the wild."

If Zhang and his staff can restore the panda to its native habitat, the rewilding will be a publicity coup for a nation known for its voracious appetite for animal parts of other endangered species, from rhino horn and elephant ivory to shark fin and bear bile. The giant panda is the world's most charismatic icon of natural diversity, a poster animal for conservation, whose soulful gaze graces the logo of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF). But for its native land, the panda offers an even greater promotional opportunity. Since the days of Mao Zedong, Beijing has given pandas to favored nations, each zoo animal a pawn in international relations. At a time when China's economic and military rise elicits reactions from envy to anxiety overseas, the panda—cuddly, peaceful, almost completely vegetarian—helps the country present a less threatening face to the world. "The panda's ancestors killed and ate meat, like other bears, but somehow they lost that instinct," says Zhang. "That's an important message for us to send overseas, that we promote peace, not just in China but for the whole world."

Pandas are also growing into a tidy business for China. Rather than donating the animals outright, Beijing loans pandas to foreign zoos for 10-year stints. The rental bill charged by the Chinese government amounts to $1 million a year per pair, and that doesn't include the hundreds of thousands of dollars needed for the animals' upkeep. Conservation is poorly funded in China, and the nation's wildlife authorities count on foreign infusions of cash for panda research and habitat protection. In addition, any cubs born

PREVIOUS PAGES: PANOS



THESE PAGES: ADAM DEAN—PANOS FOR TIME

overseas must eventually be returned to China. After all these years, the panda remains a political animal.

The first meetings of East and West over the giant panda did not meet any standards of conservation. In the late 1920s, in the craggy wilds of Sichuan, Kermit and Theodore Roosevelt Jr.—sons of Teddy, the U.S. President—tracked an elderly male panda. True to their times and to their big-game-hunting father, they responded to a historic encounter with the elusive beast by loading their guns and killing it, supposedly with simultaneous bullets. A news headline marked the moment: "Roosevelts Bag a Panda. Cat-Footed Bear of the Himalayas First Shot by White Men."

The modern era of panda diplomacy began in 1972, when U.S. President Richard Nixon traveled to the People's Republic of China to begin normalizing relations with the communist country. For decades, the U.S. had favored Taiwan, China's political rival, with diplomatic ties. Beijing responded to the warming of relations by bequeathing two pandas to the National Zoo in Washington, D.C. (In exchange, the Americans presented the rather less appealing

Clockwise from top left: a cub rests after eating; making special bread for the pandas; a bear eats some bread; cubs born in captivity are fed in the nursery

gift of a pair of musk oxen to China.) With only a short break, Washington has hosted a burly procession of pandas ever since. "The political implications of having pandas in the nation's capital are huge," says David Wildt, a senior scientist and head of the center for species survival at the National Zoo, who has spent decades collaborating with Chinese researchers in Wolong. "The Chinese embassy is just down the road, and this is a great symbol for U.S.-China relations."

Last August, panda twins were born in Washington. One died within days, while the surviving cub was named Bei Bei, a diminutive denoting preciousness. The name was bestowed at a September ceremony by U.S. First Lady Michelle Obama and her Chinese counterpart, Peng Liyuan. While Peng's husband, President Xi Jinping, embarked on his first state visit to the U.S.—amid concerns over Beijing's territorial assertiveness in the South China Sea and mounting cyberattacks that the U.S. government has traced to the Chinese military—she celebrated with a piebald baby born no bigger than a stick of butter. The panda hugging contrasted with events of 2010, when, just days after U.S. President Barack Obama announced that he would meet with the Dalai Lama—the exiled Tibetan spiritual leader shunned by Beijing—China recalled two pandas born in the U.S.

Today 51 pandas are scattered around the globe, in about a dozen countries. The pandas still go only to favored nations. Next in line are South Korea and the Netherlands. In October, when German Chancellor Angela Merkel embarked on a trade-heavy tour of China, she initiated talks to bring a panda pair to Zoo Berlin. "This is a very special piece of China," Merkel said, "that will please a lot of people in Germany." Conversely, in 2014, when Malaysia Airlines Flight 370 disappeared on its way from Kuala Lumpur to Beijing, with a majority of Chinese passengers onboard, Chinese authorities delayed the scheduled export of a pair of pandas to the Malaysian capital.

When Zhang first arrived in the village near the newly established Wolong panda preserve in 1983, there were no roads, no electricity, no phone lines. There were also very few pandas—just 10 in the sanctuary and fewer than 1,000 in the country. Zhang and his colleagues tried everything to boost the population at China's biggest panda facility through captive breeding. Feeding pandas a Chinese version of a male enhancement drug didn't go over well, especially for one befuddled bear who found himself aroused for more than a day.

For years, captive pandas went at the mating process backward, upside down or not at all, preferring to gnaw on bamboo rather than sniff out potential partners. But by the 2000s, pregnancies proliferated, largely because of artificial insemination. The focus at Wolong shifted to keeping frail panda cubs alive. When Zhang started working with pandas, fewer than 20% of babies survived. In 2015, 26 were born, and 23 made it past the critical newborn stage.

Six pandas have gone through the rewilding program so far, the last one released in November. Three have died: one from disease while in the final stages of shifting to nature; one probably from a bamboo-rat bite; and one after tumbling from a tree, most likely following a fight with another panda. Early next year, two more pandas will be sent into nature, says Zhang. Historically, reintroduction to the wild has proved challenging. In the few promising cases, such as with the black-footed ferret in North America or the golden-lion tamarin in Brazil, a large number of animals perished.

A survey released last year found that the number of wild pandas had increased to 1,864, from nearly

A Wolong employee pushes a cart after cleaning a panda enclosure at the reserve in Sichuan province

ADAM DEAN—PANOS FOR TIME

1,600 a decade before. That's good news after years of declining numbers due mainly to human intrusion into their habitat. But wild pandas remain isolated in disjointed, degraded environments where inbreeding threatens their health. Their population still ranks below that of other endangered animals, like the rhino and tiger, which teeter on the verge of extinction. One bamboo blight or virus could terminate a species. "The reality for the panda, these iconic animals, is that they're probably doomed in the wild," says Marc Bekoff, an evolutionary biologist and professor emeritus at the University of Colorado at Boulder. "We may have to accept the fact that the only pandas in the future will be in cages and stop playing the game that zoos are doing all this for conservation, because they're not. Unless we put animals first and foremost, instead of ourselves, panda conservation is not going to work."

Though Zhang is nicknamed Papa Panda, his authority does not encompass designating protective zones for the animals. That power belongs to another department in China's siloed bureaucracy. China now has 67 panda preserves, but they are disconnected and, in a nation with little arable land and the world's largest human population, under constant threat of encroachment. Unless the preserves can be linked and fully protected, they may be too fragmented to ensure the animal's long-term survival. (Because the panda is a solitary animal that almost exclusively eats one food, it is particularly vulnerable to habitat degradation.) Nor can Zhang determine where his pandas are exported. "I don't decide which country gets a panda," he says. "All I can do is follow orders when I am told that a foreign zoo expects a panda."

In 2012, Stephen Harper, then Prime Minister of Canada, used a trip to China to promote lucrative natural-resource deals, like uranium exports to fuel Beijing's nuclear industry. He capped off his journey with a stopover in the country's southwest, where he snuggled with a baby panda. The following year, a FedEx plane landed in Toronto with two VIPs—Very Important Pandas—onboard. Maria Franke, curator of mammals at the Toronto Zoo, understands the political importance of her charges. "We're a very multicultural city with a big Asian population," she says, "and we recognize that having such a charismatic species in Toronto will strengthen the connections between China and Canada."

Proponents of panda diplomacy hope the loan money will foster conservation in the animal's native land. (At the end of 2015, the world boasted 423 captive pandas, well beyond the 300 threshold needed to sustain the population with enough genetic diversity.) If Chinese are dedicated to protecting their national symbol, perhaps awareness of vulnerable animals from Africa and Asia—which are used in traditional Chinese medicine and cuisine—will follow. Even at the panda preserves, there are many other struggling species that could profit from habitat protection, such as the takin or golden monkey. "We shouldn't just protect the panda in China," says Zhang, "even though I know the panda is the one animal everyone cares about."

A 2014 WWF survey found a 52% decline in vertebrate species over the past 40 years, in what the organization terms the earth's sixth mass extinction, due to habitat degradation, human exploitation and climate change. "You can argue about whether zoos are the best places for pandas or whether reintroduction into the wild is going to work," says Franke. "But at the end of the day, we are facing a critical mass extinction, and we cannot do nothing." Humans created this problem. Pandas, chewing on their bamboo, are waiting for us to provide the solution. ◻

The Way We Work. A new poll reveals the size of the peer-to-peer revolution

By Katy Steinmetz

AFTER 28 YEARS as a matchmaker, Sherry Singer, a 51-year-old resident of Long Beach, Calif., had grown tired of making matches. She had also grown accustomed to the independence of being her own boss as she helped customers find love. But she fretted about where or how to find a new line of work. Then Singer met a woman who said she was making $200 a day working as a freelance courier for Postmates, a San Francisco–based startup specializing in on-demand deliveries from restaurants and stores in major cities, the types of places that wouldn't normally bring their gourmet burgers or cough syrup to someone's doorstep. "I said, 'Sign me up!'" Singer recalls. Within about a week she was patching together a living one order at a time as requests came through on her smartphone, and working whenever she felt like it. No experience or formal interview was required.

Companies like Postmates connect people who want goods and services—whether it's a meal from a restaurant that doesn't deliver, a bedroom to stay in for the night or someone to help move a piano—with people who will provide them for a price. These peer-to-peer transactions, numbering in the hundreds of thousands each day, bypass the traditional employer-employee relationship in ways that are befuddling regulators in cities and states across the country. The new companies—they often call themselves "platforms"—don't seem to fit the old models. Ride-app company Uber, for instance, has become the fastest-growing startup in history, now valued at more than $60 billion at just five years old. Yet to hear the company tell it, Uber has done this without hiring a single driver; its role is simply providing software that allows willing parties to connect.

This raises many questions, among them: Can algorithms replace human managers? Do these business models demand a rethinking of labor laws? Or are companies just using new tools to get up to old tricks that give them an edge?

There is no one name—whether sharing economy, gig economy or on-demand economy—that captures the diversity of this disruption. But it's clear that the demand for this way of working and consuming is profound. According to a first-of-its-kind poll from TIME, communications and global public relations firm Burson-Marsteller and the Aspen Institute Future of Work Initiative, 44% of U.S. adults have participated in such transactions, playing the roles of lenders and borrowers, drivers and riders, hosts and guests. The number this represents, more than 90 million people, is greater than the number of Americans who identify, respectively, as Republicans or Democrats. (Poll figures exclude adults who are not Internet users.) "This

Instacart
Instacart offers grocery delivery from shops like Whole Foods; some workers are employees, others contractors

Airbnb
Thousands of "hosts" rent out their homes each month; some have run afoul of local laws that prohibit short-term rentals

Lyft
Lyft drivers sell rides in their personal cars; the company has offered $1,000 sign-up bonuses

ILLUSTRATIONS BY TOMASZ WALENTA FOR TIME

is a disruptive explosion that we're seeing," says Michael Solomon, a professor of marketing at Saint Joseph's University. "Is it good or bad for workers? The real question is, What kind of worker are we talking about?"

That question is at the center of several lawsuits about how many of these companies have classified their workers. TIME's poll of 3,000 people, conducted by Penn Schoen Berland in late November, found that 22% of American adults, or 45 million people, have already offered some kind of good or service in this economy. And in doing so, they've likely made a trade-off: the typical drivers and handymen using these platforms have operated as independent contractors, which means they enjoy the freedom of working without set hours but are not afforded the safety nets that traditional 9-to-5 employees have. In return, companies like Uber and Postmates save fortunes on employee-related expenses such as payroll taxes but must give up control over exactly how and when workers do their jobs. Questions about liability and responsibility—and whether these companies are exercising more control than they're acknowledging——have led to protests, bans and referendums from San Francisco to New York.

The vast majority of these 45 million people who have so far offered goods or services have other sources of income and describe their experiences in this new economy as positive, according

More than 90 million Americans have played the roles of lenders and borrowers, drivers and riders, hosts and guests

to the poll. About one-third, whom we might call motivated offerers rather than casual ones, aren't just earning extra bucks; they either make more than 40% of their income in this economy, describe it as their primary source of income or say they can't get work in a more traditional job. These workers, per the poll, are the ones who most treasure the liberty this type of work provides yet say they miss the security and benefits they've traded for it. Take Singer: she started out optimistic, then grew disillusioned as parking fees, smartphone costs and her frustrations with company protocol piled up. Eventually, she signed up to be a lead plaintiff in a suit against Postmates, alleging that she was controlled like an employee and therefore should have been treated like one, getting reimbursements for things like gas, for instance. (The case is pending.) And yet after all that, Singer then started working as a contractor for a ride-app startup in the same economy. "I need to," she says. "I'm only as good as my last ride."

THE GROWING MOMENTUM of peer-to-peer economics is undeniable. When the poll asked how many Americans had used goods-exchange platforms like eBay and Etsy, as well as other new-economy services, the participation rate jumped to 70%. For most people, as they rent out their pool house or get paid to run someone's errands, worker status is likely far from their minds. Meanwhile, highly skilled jobs, like consulting and teaching, are shifting to more gig-like models too. "There's something nice about getting a regular paycheck," says Arun Sundararajan, a business professor at New York University, "but we've got to get away from thinking that that is the only model."

So while a change in the social contract is already under way, politicians and regulators are still scrambling to catch up. In the U.S. today, workers fall into one of two buckets: employee or independent contractor. These two categories have roots in 18th century England, when legal minds decided that servants, at the mercy of their masters for a living wage and bound to obey their orders, deserved some protections in return. The U.S. built on those in the 20th century, developing and expanding basic rules about employee wages and hours. But many of those don't apply to contractors, who are viewed as more autonomous in the eyes of the law.

Though assigning either category to any worker is notoriously complicated, a crucial element is control. Take an

TaskRabbit
Sites like TaskRabbit allow users to outsource household errands or odd jobs; workers set their own rates

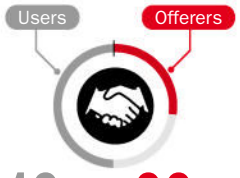
Zirx
Zirx users order valet parking on-demand; ads tout "maximum flexibility" for valets, who can control their own hours

Caviar
Ads for Caviar couriers promise contractors "up to $25 an hour" for delivering food from popular restaurants

Inside the new economy

Who's providing?
Who's consuming?
Americans weigh in

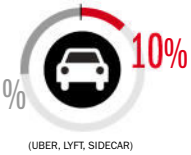
Americans involved



42% 22%

MOST OFFERERS ARE ALSO USERS. TOTAL PARTICIPATION IS 44%

RIDE SHARING



(UBER, LYFT, SIDECAR)

ACCOMMODATION SHARING

(AIRBNB, VRBO, HOMEAWAY)

SERVICE PLATFORMS

(HANDY.COM, CARE.COM, TASKRABBIT)

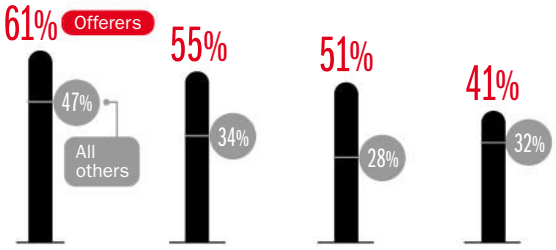
CAR RENTAL

(CAR2GO, ZIPCAR, GETAROUND)

FOOD AND GOODS DELIVERY

(INSTACART, POSTMATES, CAVIAR)

AMERICANS WHO HAVE OFFERED SERVICES



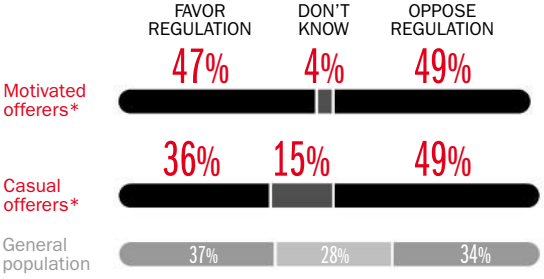
ARE MOSTLY MALE ... | MEMBERS OF A RACIAL OR ETHNIC MINORITY... | YOUNGER (18–34)... | RESIDENTS OF AN URBAN AREA

CLAIM TO BE BETTER OFF FINANCIALLY

LOVE WORKING IN THE INDUSTRY

AGREE THAT THE INDUSTRY IS EXPLOITING A LACK OF REGULATION

BUT ARE SPLIT ON WHETHER THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD GET INVOLVED



***MOTIVATED OFFERERS** EITHER MAKE 40% OF THEIR INCOME IN THE NEW ECONOMY, DESCRIBE IT AS THEIR PRIMARY SOURCE OF INCOME OR SAY THEY CAN'T GET A MORE TRADITIONAL JOB

***CASUAL OFFERERS** DO NOT CLAIM ANY OF THESE

METHODOLOGY: PENN SCHOEN BERLAND CONDUCTED 3,000 ONLINE INTERVIEWS OF AMERICAN ADULTS NOV. 16–25, 2015. THE MARGIN OF ERROR FOR THE ENTIRE SAMPLE IS APPROXIMATELY ±1.8 PERCENTAGE POINTS.

electrician who could be engaged to do several jobs by several different clients, quoting his own rate, organizing his own schedule and leveraging a skill set that allows him to function as his own business. That, says University of Connecticut law professor Sachin Pandya, looks more like a contractor. Now imagine the fast-food cashier who must adhere to set shifts and wear a certain uniform and has a single boss who tells him what to do and how to do it. That looks like an employee. The idea is that "people who are classified as employees are in a more vulnerable position in the economy," Pandya says.

Yet it's often not clear-cut, and many companies in the new economy blur the distinction by exercising varying amounts of control over workers who use their apps to valet-park your car or deliver your groceries. If Uber sets the rate that drivers can earn per mile and reserves the ability to kick drivers off the platform if they get low customer ratings, that suggests an element of control. But when those drivers can turn their app on or off at any time, working as much or as little as they like, that looks pretty freewheeling.

Complicating the issue for policymakers is the fact that these platforms are luring all kinds of workers. TIME's poll found that offerers are most often young, male, urban-dwelling and members of a racial or ethnic minority. (Nearly 40% are female.) While they're more concentrated in metro-heavy states such as New York and California, they live all over the country. Perhaps most important, while a small percentage depend on home-sharing or ride apps for 100% of their income, about half say these gigs account for less than 20% of it and may only offer services a couple times per month or year. So it is far from clear that more government oversight makes sense. "From an efficiency perspective," says St. Louis University law professor Miriam Cherry, "you don't want somebody who gives someone a ride once a week in their car to be regulated."

Workers within platforms aren't cookie-cutter either. Some Lyft drivers may be empty nesters looking for something to fill their days, while others use the platform 50 hours a week to feed themselves. Some Airbnb hosts are struggling middle-class workers who need the rental money to pay their mortgage, while others are landlords who are taking units off the

market because they can make more renting them out a few nights at a time. In August, Uber's lawyers made diversity a key argument before a judge in California's Northern District Court who was deciding whether to certify an estimated 150,000 drivers as a single class in a lawsuit against the company. There is no such thing as a "typical" Uber driver, the firm argued, and if the company were forced to reclassify all drivers as employees, Uber's entire business model would have to change; drivers would have to work in shifts. "These are real live human beings who vary widely," the company's lawyer said in court. "It's a hornet's nest." After a judge issued an order in December that could certify a class of that size, Uber vowed to appeal. "Drivers control their use of the Uber app," the company tells TIME in a statement. "Their flexibility is key."

The poll reveals that many workers say they're happy as things are. Some 71% described their experience offering services as positive, while 22% said their experience had been mixed, and a mere 2% described their experience as flat-out negative. About two-thirds agreed that these companies are trustworthy and care about their workers, and that's a point the new firms often make in court. Uber filed 400 testimonies from "driver-partners" in an attempt to prove how satisfied its contractors are with the status quo.

The new economy can make self-employment more attractive, at least at

People offering goods and services are typically young, male, urban-dwelling and members of a racial minority

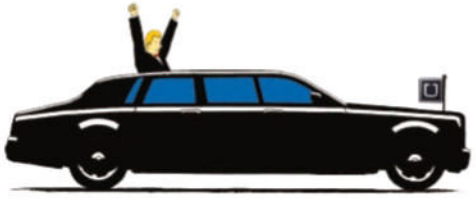
the start. The ease of getting onto these new platforms can be thrilling, with a low barrier to entry and promise of making as much money as you're willing to work for. Ads often tout promises of making $25 an hour. According to the poll, new-economy workers tend to be more optimistic about their financial future than workers as a whole. "There's something a little bit more adventurous," a Lyft driver from Chicago says, "knowing that I kind of determine how much money I will be getting at the end of the week." Yet a number of lawsuit plaintiffs allege that after all their expenses were considered, they weren't even making minimum wage.

Increasingly policymakers from both sides of the aisle fear that the erosion of the old social contract between employers and workers could place a large burden on state and local welfare budgets if those new-economy jobs don't last. "Without a social contract," notes Senator Mark Warner of Virginia, who co-chairs the Future of Work project at the Aspen Institute, "the social safety net will be stressed much more later on. For some of these workers, the gig economy is all good until it's not."

Which is why some politicians are pursuing new compromises within existing frameworks. In December, the Seattle city council voted unanimously to become the first city to allow Lyft and Uber drivers to unionize. States like Utah have passed laws that let certain new-economy companies operate only after they register with the state and meet insurance standards. "The intent of this legislation is to create an environment where innovation can continue to happen but not at the expense of the workers," said Mike O'Brien, the council member who spearheaded the Seattle proposal. Uber and Lyft testified in opposition.

Some companies have decided to change back to the old models, transitioning workers from contractor to employee status. Instacart, a grocery-delivery-app company, announced in 2015 that in-store shoppers would have the opportunity to switch, after a pilot showed that treating them as employees improved retention of better-trained workers. Still, some politicians and labor experts believe that this doesn't need to be such an either-or situation, nor one that regulators solve by themselves. "Just as these enterprises have been able to disrupt [various industries]," says Warner, "maybe we ought to unleash that innovation in what the social contract should look like." □

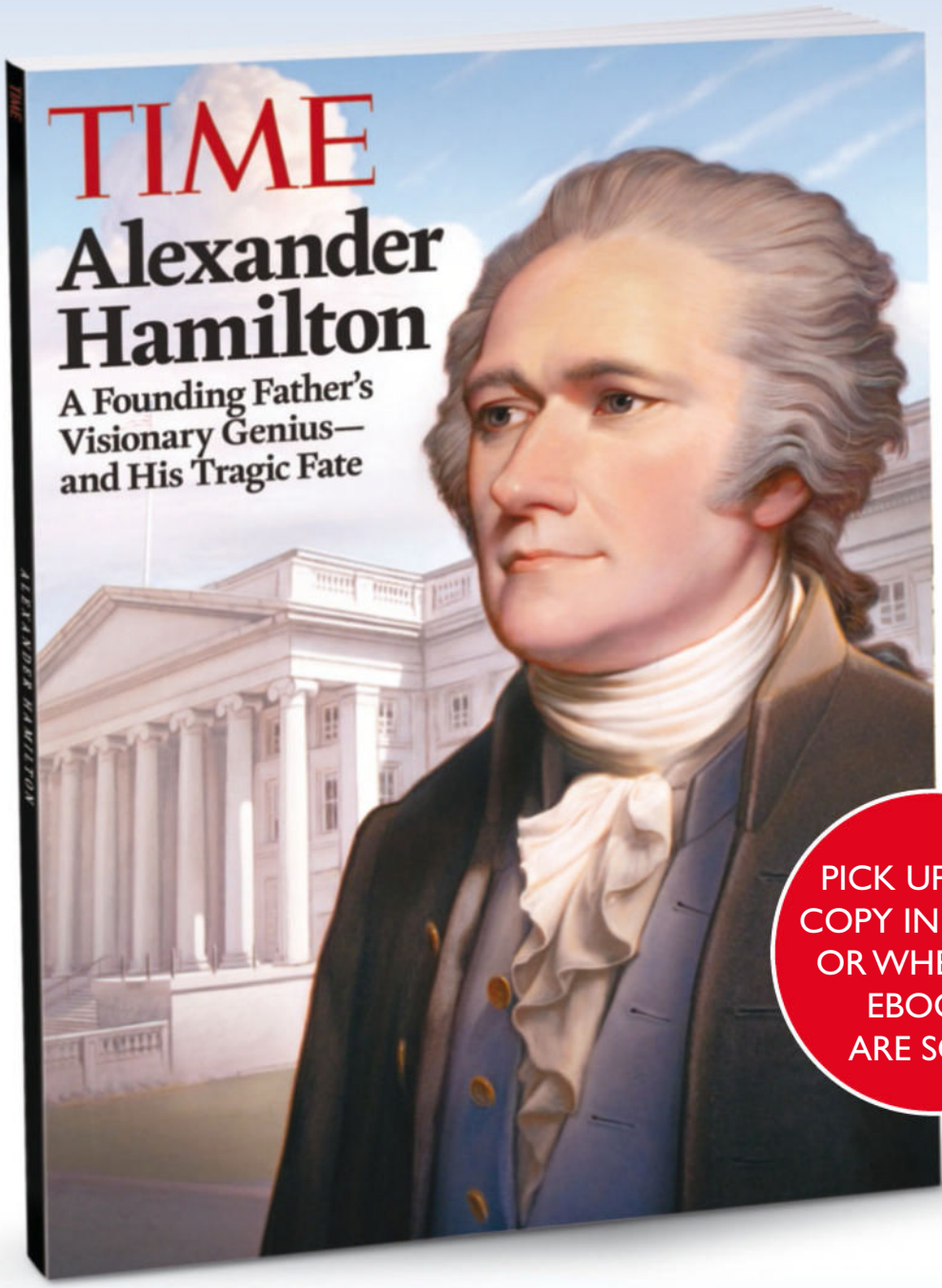
Uber
The ride-app firm is adding "hundreds of thousands" of new "driver-partners" globally each month



Handy
This startup touts "expert" handymen and home cleaners; Handy says top contractors can make up to $1,000 per week

Postmates
From L.A. to Atlanta, the firm vows to deliver local goods in an hour; being their courier is "probably America's best part-time job," the CEO says

Leader, Revolutionary and Rival



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Time Off

'WHO OUTSIDE NEW YORK CITY OR LOS ANGELES CARES? THEN AGAIN, WHO INSIDE CARES?' —PAGE 54

Roth, Russell and Leigh can't stave off cabin fever in this 182-minute dirge of a western

THE WEINSTEIN CO.

MOVIES

Tarantino's *Hateful Eight* finds beauty in snow—not so much in people

By Stephanie Zacharek

QUENTIN TARANTINO HAS ALWAYS been openhearted about his love for spaghetti westerns, particularly those of Sergio Corbucci. Although Corbucci is less well-known in the States than his splashier counterpart, Sergio Leone, his best pictures—like the 1966 *Django,* featuring Franco Nero as a raggedy gunfighter who drags a coffin like an inconvenient suitcase wherever he goes—have an earthy fortitude that not even Leone quite matches. The faces of Corbucci's rogues are road maps of scowls and sneers. Tarantino has said of Corbucci, "He loves the uglies," and Tarantino does too, as anyone who has ever adored any of his movies can attest.

But is he a man who loves too much? The first third of Tarantino's eighth movie, *The Hateful Eight,* a western set in snow country, is unassailably beautiful. Tarantino and cinematographer Robert Richardson introduce us to a world—post–Civil War Wyoming, to be exact—in which the Inuit's quasi-mythical abundance of words for *snow* translates into an un-color wheel of satin grays, sable blacks and primal whites. In the opening, a dappled, ashy form that appears to be a gnarled tree turns out to be a stone crucifix, partly obscured by pillowy snow, a forgotten Jesus in a godforsaken land.

But that early visual is a ruse, a cinematic red herring that does nothing to prepare us for the meandering dialogue, sour brutality and intellectual and spiritual murkiness that lie ahead. All the promise of the first hour of *The Hateful Eight* is squandered in the last

two: what begins as a wickedly chilly adventure—one that seems committed to using every inch of the rare ultra-wide 70-mm format that Tarantino so lovingly resurrected for this film—evolves into a frostbitten, claustrophobic chamber piece in which an assortment of miscreants debase one another, verbally and otherwise, until only bits of them, barely fit for crows, are left.

Samuel L. Jackson plays surly yet principled bounty hunter and former Union soldier Major Marquis Warren, long-legged and loping in a cape-shouldered military coat and broad-brimmed hat. Headed for the nearest town, he hops a ride on a stagecoach: inside are fellow bounty hunter John Ruth (Kurt Russell), a ruffian in a scrubby fur coat, and the outlaw he's captured, tough little Wild West urchin Daisy Domergue (Jennifer Jason Leigh, terrific in every scene). Daisy's left eye is ringed by a hell of a shiner, and it doesn't take long to figure out that it's Ruth who gave it to her. He smacks her often, and with escalating bravado, in what becomes the movie's defining running joke: the more she gets hit, the more she grins and cackles, as if she were drawing banshee strength from the abuse.

At some point, belligerent, bigoted Sheriff Chris Mannix (the live-wire Walton Goggins) also wedges himself into that coach, which will eventually end up at Minnie's Haberdashery, a popular stopping-off point for weary travelers. Huddled inside are a hangman with oily-impeccable manners, Tim Roth's Oswaldo Mobray; Michael Madsen's cowboy scribe Joe Gage; and Bruce Dern's General Sandy Smithers, a classic Confederate racist who, naturally, gets under Major Warren's skin: the centerpiece of their inflamed encounter is a protracted story involving a key part of Warren's anatomy and some of the creative uses he's found for it.

As with Tarantino's 2012 *Django Unchained,* the woolly, rambling dialogue here focuses largely on the scourge of bigotry. But it's unclear what Tarantino is trying to say about racism, other than that he's against it—and we already knew that. He's filled this movie with intentionally unlikable characters. The challenge is to make us care for them, in all their flawed splendor.

But there's so little human grandeur in *The Hateful Eight.* Ennio Morricone's score is both majestic and delicate, its grand spaces filled with tendrils of feeling—but it's as if the music can feel something we can't. The picture's brutality is sometimes viciously funny: heads are blown open, their pinky-red contents filling the air like mini-geysers. But mostly the violence feels pinched and mingy rather than resplendent, uncharacteristic for Tarantino. Its glorious, snowcapped visuals aside, *The Hateful Eight* comes off as bloodless even in the midst of all its bloodiness, and its characters are devoid of nobility, even the horrible kind. These are uglies not even a mother could love. ◻

Jackson, left, and Goggins: not exactly hateful, but not so pretty, either

MOVIES

Anomalisa is sad puppet theater

AS R.E.M. ONCE SANG, everybody hurts, and in Charlie Kaufman and Duke Johnson's *Anomalisa,* an obsessive drama about suffering and isolation featuring stop-motion-animated figures, that goes for puppets too. Michael (voiced by David Thewlis) is a successful motivational speaker on a business trip to Cincinnati. He's also, it turns out, cracking up, having become so distanced from other humans—and from himself—that he can barely function. His demeanor shifts when he meets a shy young fan, Lisa (Jennifer Jason Leigh, whose guardedly cheerful presence gives the movie some soul). They connect in a scene that, particularly for puppet sex, is staged with remarkable tenderness, but it's clear this bliss can't last.

Kaufman *(Synecdoche, New York)* and Johnson (TV's *Moral Orel*) work hard to make us feel something for this shell of a person, struggling to be whole. But once you start reckoning with *Anomalisa*'s obsession with self-absorption, the novelty of this one-man pity party wears off. A little puppet pain goes a long way. —S.Z.

Anomalisa*'s Michael asks, Where is my mind?*

THE HATEFUL EIGHT: THE WEINSTEIN CO.; ANOMALISA: PARAMOUNT

Sufficiency Thinking: Thailand's Gift to an Unsustainable World

Our world is facing critical challenges. Despite stunning advances in technology, our model of development is regarded as increasingly unsustainable. Inequalities are widening in wealth and opportunity. One out of every six people on the planet is hungry or malnourished. Access to education and health care is unequal and often unavailable. Most ominously, scientists are warning of global environmental disaster. These challenges are not limited to the developing world. Advanced countries are also grappling with these issues. In a bid to devise solutions to these problems, the nations of the world are signing on to several initiatives, such as the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals.

Creative solutions to global problems, however, can often be found at the local level. The Kingdom of Thailand is one nation that has been integrating a home-grown, alternative model of development into its road map for the future. Known as the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy (SEP), it has been part of successive national development plans since 2002. The philosophy promotes balance in economic, social, environmental and cultural conditions to enable people, communities and the country as a whole to become more self-reliant and resilient in the face of the shifting and unpredictable fortunes of a globalizing world.

The Sufficiency Economy Philosophy was developed by Thailand's constitutional monarch King Bhumibol Adulyadej over many decades of working to uplift the poor and marginalized among his subjects. Following his passion for science, King Bhumibol experimented long and hard in the field and in laboratories on his palace grounds with some of the practices associated with sufficiency thinking. He personally developed new technologies, production systems and land management regimes to identify the most effective ways to assist small farmers. Many of these have been implemented with great success. However, application of the King's thoughts extended well beyond agriculture to other aspects of Thai society. Its principles apply to everything from financial management to national development policy.

This concerted effort to introduce people-centred sustainable development across the nation was recognized when the United Nations awarded King Bhumibol its first Human Development Lifetime Achievement Award in 2006. In addition to his many other contributions to social development, King Bhumibol received the award for developing and applying his Sufficiency Economy Philosophy.

In the forthcoming book from Thailand, "Sufficiency Thinking: Thailand's Gift to an Unsustainable World," Thai experts explain how sufficiency thinking achieves the seemingly impossible, namely, enriching everyone's lives in a truly sustainable way. The strengths of this philosophy are that it is based on hard evidence obtained through actual application, and that it appeals to the best in us as people. It requires us to care for the planet and for those among us who are destitute or disadvantaged. In doing so, we can build a greater and more sustainable prosperity for us all.

Contributed by Dr Gayle C. Avery, Professor of Management at Macquarie University, Sydney.

MOVIES

Actors suffer for a director's art in grim *The Revenant*

By Stephanie Zacharek

NEVER HAS FILM SUFFERING LOOKED SO RAVISHING as in *The Revenant,* Alejandro González Iñárritu's true-life tale of one man's terrible adventures in unforgiving 1820s Wyoming. Leonardo DiCaprio plays frontiersman Hugh Glass, who suffers a mauling at the meaty paws of a mama bear, only to learn that the cruelty of man is much colder. Lord, how he suffers! But beautifully. Blood oozes from artfully placed gashes, tiny icicles dangle like molten jewels from his mountain-man mustache, the belly of the fish he's caught glimmers gently just before he tears into it with his teeth. Pristine in its grittiness, *The Revenant* is a hyperrealist *Where the Wild Things Are* for depressive grownups.

Which is not to say the movie—adapted from Michael Punke's 2002 novel, itself based on true events—doesn't offer its share of sick, downbeat thrills and visually wondrous moments. It's just that by forcing his actors to work under ungodly conditions on location in Argentina and Alberta, the better to capture the desperation of trappers in the wilderness, Iñárritu—director of *Birdman,* winner of Best Picture at last year's Oscars—broke a covenant with his performers. When you push actors to the brink, you're not directing, you're just failing to let them do what they do best: act. Keeping them working in temperatures so frigid, they can't even move their lips, as Iñárritu did, isn't a method-acting strategy—it's just brutal.

NO PAIN, NO GAIN
With *The Revenant,* DiCaprio just may wince, moan and bleed his way to an Oscar

Still, the cast rallies, surviving even the showiest filmmaking that Iñárritu and superstar cinematographer Emmanuel Lubezki can dish out—and they dish out a lot. DiCaprio's Glass is a man of principles and fortitude, charged with guiding a group of trappers through the perilous west, his half-Pawnee teenage son Hawk (Forrest Goodluck) in tow. One trapper in particular, John Fitzgerald (Tom Hardy), a mean mass of sinew and whiskers, has it out for both Glass and Hawk—his actions are pure, selfish evil. But Glass won't be vanquished so easily: he survives a seemingly endless string of gruesome trials (including a DIY neck-wound cauterization), eventually clawing his way back to civilization to wreak his revenge.

The Revenant is supposed to be relentless, though you may find it tiresome, the movie equivalent of tigers circling a tree so single-mindedly that they churn themselves into butter. But that bear attack, a sequence of vicious, haunting beauty, sure is something: the great brown she-beast charges Glass with clumsy fury. He doesn't go down without a fight, though before long he's reduced to an exhausted, mangled heap.

Yet even in that near lifeless state, Glass seems filled with life. Later, he comes close to both suffocation and starvation. At one point he guts a dead horse and climbs inside the carcass for warmth. He also gains sustenance by eating buffalo innards. Iñárritu may have fashioned *The Revenant* as the ultimate endurance test, but as Glass, DiCaprio simply endures. He gives the movie a beating heart, offering it up, figuratively speaking, alive and bloody on a platter. It—he—is the most visceral effect in the movie: revenge served warm. Bon appétit. □

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The Soothing Sound of Guaranteed Income

Many *Time* investors currently own or are considering annuities. After all, they are sold as safe investments, offering dependable and predictable returns, no matter what the market does. And that sounds very appealing, especially after suffering through the worst bear market since the Great Depression. So what's the problem with annuities?

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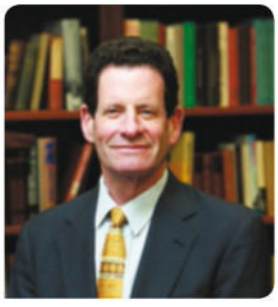

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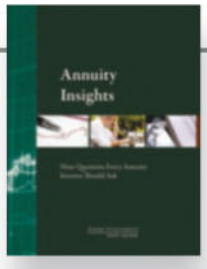

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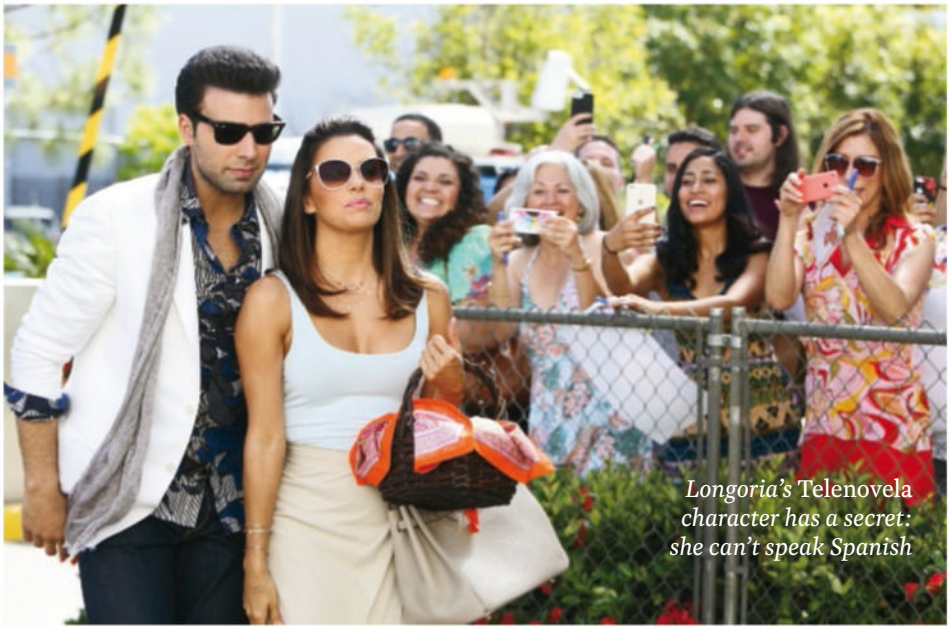


Longoria's Telenovela *character has a secret: she can't speak Spanish*

Eva and America return, but without the spark

By Daniel D'Addario

AMERICA FERRERA AND EVA Longoria made their names on two of the most distinctive TV hits of the 2000s—Ferrera as a downtrodden magazine employee on *Ugly Betty,* Longoria as the most glamorous spouse on *Desperate Housewives*. Both are making comebacks on shows that debuted on NBC on Jan. 4, but neither, in early episodes, shines as we know she can.

In theory, the comedy block is perfectly in tune with our times, from the casting of two Latina stars to premises that reflect many viewers' lives and interests: *Superstore* focuses on the disempowered workers at Cloud 9, a somewhat soulless, Walmart-like chain, while *Telenovela* takes place within the ever more powerful Spanish-language entertainment biz. But both shows feel built by committee.

Superstore is the more promising, thanks to its core couple: Ferrera's Amy clashes early and often with new hire Jonah (*Mad Men*'s Ben Feldman), with whom she shares nothing but chemistry. The other characters are the sort of stereotypes meant to indicate we're all in on the joke. But when the cast sets up a mannequin resembling Jonah in degradingly effeminate poses or when a foster parent calls his children "all dinged up" compared with adopted babies, I wasn't laughing.

This say-anything ethos, whereby a joke needn't be humorous so long as it needles perceived political correctness, is the most distinctive thing about *Superstore*. Ferrera plays Amy well, but because this young mother and veteran Cloud 9 employee is depressed by her lot in life, the other characters get more mileage from their one clichéd trait: butch woman, unsophisticated teen mom, gay diva. At least *Superstore* takes place in a world where characters are refreshingly frank about issues of class. Perhaps if it calms down a bit in its attempts to get laughs from shock value, it'll be a pleasant successor to *The Office*.

Telenovela is more confusing, with Longoria playing a character we're told is a dramatic nightmare of a soap actor but who seems like a well-meaning, nice enough person. The best joke around Longoria's Ana Sofia Calderon is her dirty secret—she doesn't actually speak Spanish and is faking it to sustain an acting career—but this runs its course. So too do the jokes around *this* show's gay diva, a whiny obsessive gymgoer who binge-eats.

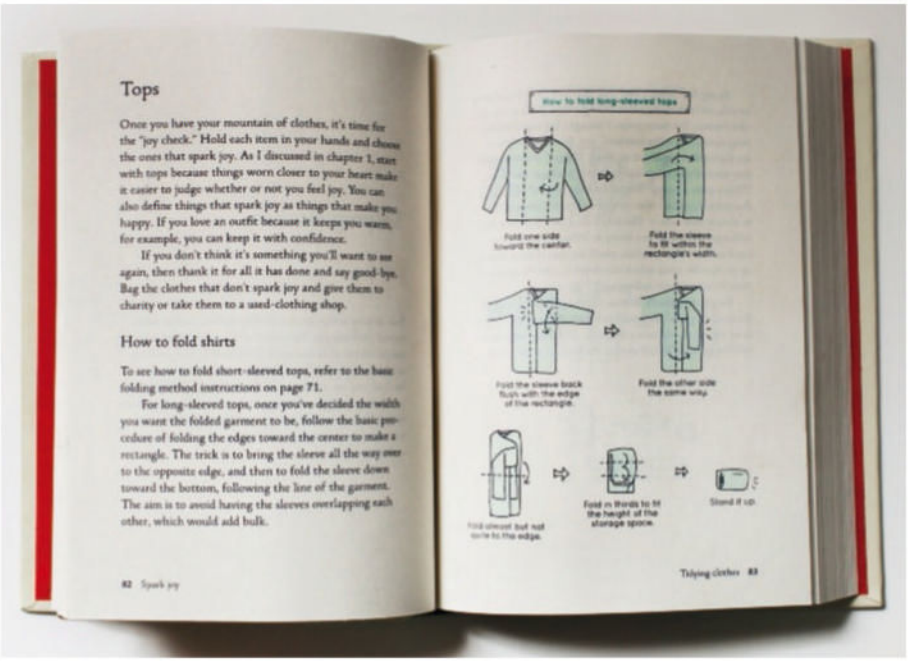
Although *Telenovela* takes its name from an exuberantly dramatic genre of soap opera, its plots are mundane. There need to be higher stakes—and more hair pulling—rather than depictions of actors lightly bickering or dealing with network politics. (Who outside New York City or Los Angeles cares? Then again, who inside cares?) *Telenovela* seems almost afraid of what diverging from a standard workplace-comedy template might mean, even if its title and trappings imply something far more fun—something more like *Desperate Housewives*.

That both Ferrera and Longoria again occupy starring roles on network sitcoms is a positive step for diversity. What's the next step? Here's hoping it's NBC granting its Latina leads something meaningful—or at least really funny—to say. ☐

FROM HIGH FASHION TO RETAIL

Ferrera won an Emmy and a Golden Globe for her role on *Ugly Betty;* on *Superstore,* she once again plays an employee trapped in a chaotic workplace

NBC (2)


Tops
Once you have your mountain of clothes, it's time for the "joy check." Hold each item in your hands and choose the ones that spark joy. As I discussed in chapter 1, start with tops because things worn closer to your heart make it easier to judge whether or not you feel joy. You can also define things that spark joy as things that make you happy. If you love an outfit because it keeps you warm, for example, you can keep it with confidence.
If you don't think it's something you'll want to see again, then thank it for all it has done and say good-bye. Bag the clothes that don't spark joy and give them to charity or take them to a used-clothing shop.
How to fold shirts
To see how to fold short-sleeved tops, refer to the basic folding method instructions on page 71.
For long-sleeved tops, once you've decided the width you want the folded garment to be, follow the basic procedure of folding the edges toward the center to make a rectangle. The trick is to bring the sleeve all the way over to the opposite edge, and then to fold the sleeve down toward the bottom, following the line of the garment. The aim is to avoid having the sleeves overlapping each other, which would add bulk.
How to fold long-sleeved tops
Fold one side toward the center.
Fold the sleeve to fit within the rectangle's width.
Fold the sleeve back flush with the edge of the rectangle.
Fold the other side the same way.
Fold in thirds to fit the height of the storage space.
Stand it up.
82 Spark joy
Tidying clothes 83

BOOKS

Advice from the tidy queen—now, with illustrations

ONE OF THE CENTRAL TENETS OF MARIE KONDO'S WORLD-renowned tidying method is that books should not be stored—if you've read something once, she says, you've absorbed it and should discard it from your life. Yet just over a year after the U.S. release of *The Life-Changing Magic of Tidying Up,* which has sold more than 3 million copies in 35 languages, she's back with a companion book, *Spark Joy: An Illustrated Master Class on the Art of Organizing and Tidying Up.* For her adherents, this will be one more item to thank for its service before dutifully placing it on the discard pile when completed.

Spark Joy offers visual instructions for her complex folding method, which involves storing clothes upright, not flat, so that opening a drawer reveals its full contents. Kondo also reiterates that when sorting through your possessions, only those objects that "spark joy" when held should be kept. This has given Kondo a reputation for minimalism, but in fact, readers will see she's inarguably pro-stuff: she owns 19 sets of chopstick rests; advocates for decorating your home with beloved baubles and tchotchkes even if they have no use; and empathizes with possessions, covering up stuffed animals' eyes before throwing them out and ruling that "balling your socks and stockings, or tying them into knots, is cruel."

Following the "KonMari" method to the letter would be hugely time-consuming, and readers may prefer to pick and choose some of the smaller life hacks she offers, like keeping warranties in a clear plastic folder to help you remember to throw them out when they expire. But Kondo has real confidence in her regimen's ability to transform the neatnik as well as the house. "Life truly begins," she writes, "only after you have put your house in order." —SARAH BEGLEY

'Tidying is the act of confronting yourself; cleaning is the act of confronting nature.'

MARIE KONDO, *Spark Joy*

BOOKS

In a new novel, past is prologue

TESSA HADLEY HAS THE natural bent of a short-story writer, given to careful description and the kind of feinted closure that pushes uncomfortably past happily ever after. If her new novel, *The Past,* reads like a long short story, that's not a bad thing. The Crane siblings and their progeny have gathered at their grandparents' English country home to decide whether to sell it. As the three sisters and brother work through their ties to the house, they also take stock of one another and the twists life has handed them.

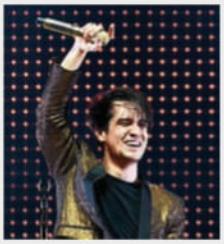
Commingling with their past selves and the memory of their mother, the siblings seem to stagnate in time, the soporific effect of the countryside but also of nostalgia. Hadley builds to a dramatic climax by Michael Bay standards—*crash, bang*—but it's a red herring. The events that alter our existence, her novel says, happen not with a quake but with a shiver: an errant embrace, a chance meeting, the feel of cancerous tissue under the skin. With each discovery, in an instant, the present outweighs the past.

—RADHIKA JONES

SPARK JOY © 2016 BY MARIE KONDO. ILLUSTRATIONS COURTESY TEN SPEED PRESS/MASAKO INOUE; KONDO: NATSUNO ICHIGO

TIME PICKS

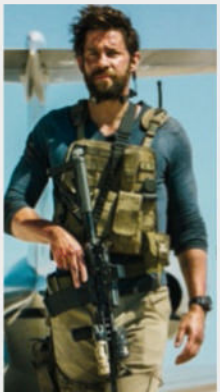
TELEVISION
The second season of the TV Land dramedy ***Younger,*** premiering Jan. 13, brings a new set of repercussions for Sutton Foster's 40-year-old single mom trying to pass as a 20-something.

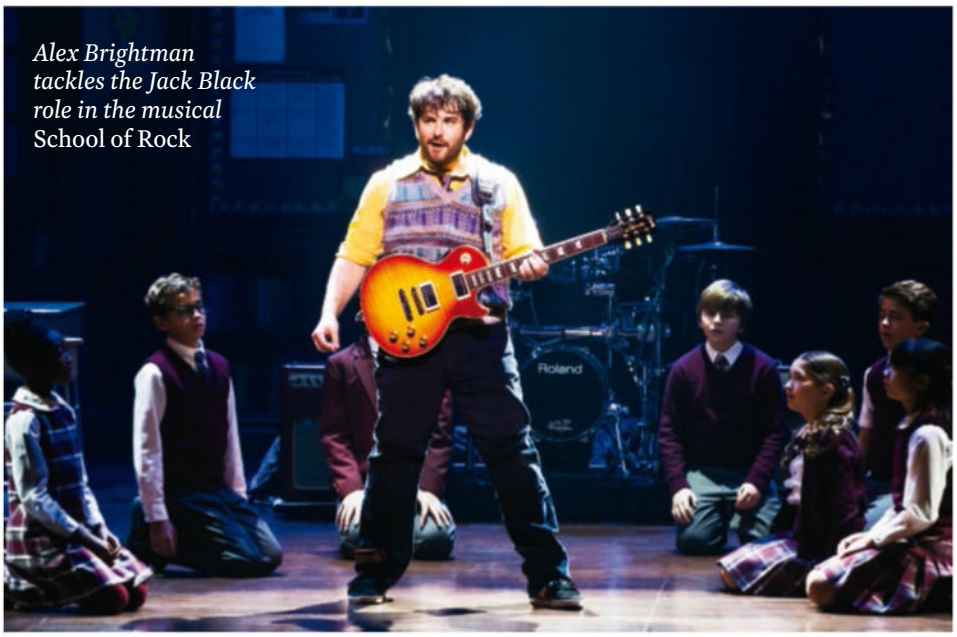


MUSIC
Panic! at the Disco's fifth rock album, *Death of a Bachelor* (Jan. 15), mixes confessional lyrics with a sound inspired by Queen and Frank Sinatra.

BOOKS
Samantha Hunt's mesmerizing third novel, ***Mr. Splitfoot,*** spins a spooky tale that begins in an orphanage and ends with a journey through New York.

MOVIES
Michael Bay's thriller ***13 Hours: The Secret Soldiers of Benghazi*** (Jan. 15) stars John Krasinski as one of six security contractors responding to the 2012 attack on the American diplomatic compound in Libya.





Alex Brightman tackles the Jack Black role in the musical School of Rock

THEATER

From *Hair* to Bowie: the rock invasion heats up

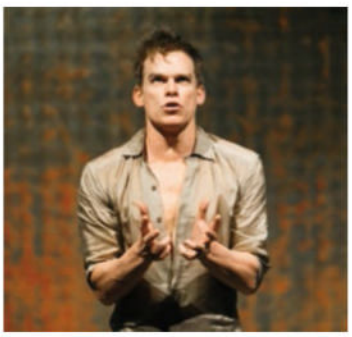
By Richard Zoglin

BROADWAY AND ROCK MUSIC HAVE LONG HAD an uneasy, arm's-length relationship. Despite a couple of successful early hookups *(Hair, Jesus Christ Superstar),* the two seemed content to go their separate ways during most of the rock revolution. Major rock artists wanted nothing to do with the middle-of-the-road sounds (and audiences) of Broadway, and with an occasional exception (like the Tony-winning *Rent*) Broadway's embrace of rock has been mostly an exercise in nostalgia—recycling oldies in shows like *Mamma Mia!, Jersey Boys* and *Beautiful: The Carole King Musical.*

But the times are a-changing. Two rock superstars, Bono and Sting, have each taken a stab at Broadway in recent years (*Spider-Man* and *The Last Ship,* respectively). David Byrne created a bracing world-beat score for *Here Lies Love,* his off-Broadway musical about Imelda Marcos. Duncan Sheik, who wrote the rock-driven score for *Spring Awakening,* will return to Broadway in the spring with a new musical based on Bret Easton Ellis' slasher novel *American Psycho.* And Lin-Manuel Miranda has shown that hip-hop can turn the most unlikely of musical subjects—Founding Father Alexander Hamilton—into the hottest ticket in New York City.

In a fitting sign of the times, onetime hitmaker Andrew Lloyd Webber has returned to his rock-'n'-roll roots, writing the score for Broadway's new *School of Rock.* Based on the 2003 Jack Black movie,

These Paper Bullets! *has a mod style and faux-Beatles numbers*



Michael C. Hall takes the reins for David Bowie in Lazarus

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: GETTY IMAGES; MATTHEW MURPHY; AHRON FOSTER; JAN VERSWEYVELD; PARAMOUNT

about a deadbeat rock guitarist who turns a class of nerdy private-school kids into a headbanging rock band, the show misses much of the film's lazy charm as it hammers home its rock-is-liberating message with all the subtlety of an AC/DC power chord. But Webber's lightly tongue-in-cheek rock songs—like the kids' anthem of rebellion, "Stick It to the Man"—get you tapping your feet like nothing in *The Phantom of the Opera.*

The marriage of rock and theater can produce duds as well. Billie Joe Armstrong, the Green Day lead singer who brought his concept album *American Idiot* to Broadway in 2010, has followed it with *These Paper Bullets!,* a spoofy update of Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing,* revolving around a Beatles-like pop group in the early '60s. But except for a few clever, faux-Beatles numbers that the group performs onstage, the show is barely a musical at all—more like a scrappy, not-very-funny college revue in need of a good rewrite.

There's no spoofing going on in *Lazarus,* the dead-serious new off-Broadway musical from David Bowie. The former glam rocker, working with Irish playwright Enda Walsh and avant-garde director Ivo van Hove, has decided to revisit the character of Thomas Newton, the stranded space alien he played in the 1976 movie *The Man Who Fell to Earth.* The result is at once the most puzzling and most dazzling new musical of the season.

In the movie, the humanoid alien comes to earth, learns our ways from watching television, and builds a billion-dollar conglomerate, all so he can return and save his dying planet from drought. In *Lazarus,* which apparently takes place years later, Newton is now a melancholy recluse, swilling gin in his barren New York apartment and pining for his lost love.

Lazarus is needlessly opaque and dramatically static, but it looks and sounds terrific. A giant video screen sits at center stage, dissolving in and out of static, the images sometimes mimicking the action onstage, at other times producing characters who emerge from the screen into real life. There's an ethereal, blond waif who wants to take Newton home, his smitten assistant and her jealous husband, an assortment of blue-haired vixens and geisha girls, and a bad guy named Valentine who commits a murder—I think. It's all set to Bowie's hard-driving, angst-ridden songs, both old ("The Man Who Sold The World," "Changes") and new.

Michael C. Hall, as Newton, captures the dry, metallic timbre of Bowie's voice, and the entire committed cast (accompanied by a band visible through a glass wall at the rear of the stage) does a lot to help distract us from the near incomprehensible story line. Call it a tone poem on the subject of alienation. Or the best live-action music video ever put onstage. Or maybe better to just give up, turn and face the strange. ◻

JULIEN REYNAUD—AP

QUICK TALK

Natalie Dormer

Best known as Game of Thrones' *Margaery, Natalie Dormer stars next in the horror movie* The Forest *(out Jan. 8). It's inspired by Aokigahara, the Japanese forest where people go to take their lives.*

When you watch movies, are you easily scared? I'm a bit of a wimp, to be honest, when it comes to horror movies. When I was a girl and someone would bring the latest slasher film to a sleepover, I was the one hiding in my sleeping bag. I'm not into violence for gratuity's sake—pornographic violence. It has to inform the story.

What surprised you about filming horror? There's a choreography and precision to horror that I didn't expect. The way you set up the scare—it's almost like setting up a joke in comedy. There's the setup, the timing, the punch line. With horror, it's all about setting up the suspense and then timing it right so the audience jumps when you jump.

What was it like visiting the forest where the movie takes place? It's surreal because it's such an ethereal place, but it has this dark heritage. Every few yards there's a sign: "If you're thinking of doing something to hurt yourself, call this help line."

Any hints you can give about the next season of *Game of Thrones?* *Thrones* is always making these unlikely pairings from one season to the next. We all get thrown in with a new sparring partner. And I've actually had a new sparring partner this season because Margaery is in jail, and Cersei, after the walk of shame last season, got back into the Keep.

There was backlash to Cersei's walk-of-shame scene. Were you surprised by that? It's brave, bold writing, whether you agree or disagree with the choices that are made. There's a lot of writing out there that plays it safe and doesn't challenge its audience. *Thrones* understands that its audience is sophisticated and can process controversy.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

ON MY RADAR

GUILLERMO DEL TORO'S *PAN'S LABYRINTH* AND *CRIMSON PEAK*

'Guillermo del Toro always speaks very eloquently about monsters. He calls them living, breathing metaphors of social and personal issues. That's what every good horror movie should have.'

For the first time, the Library of Congress **chose a graphic novelist** to be the 2016 national ambassador for young people's literature: *American Born Chinese* scribe Gene Luen Yang *(illustrated at left).*

Pixar revealed **two new characters** from its forthcoming *Finding Nemo* sequel, *Finding Dory.*

Destiny the whale shark (voiced by Kaitlin Olson)

Bailey the beluga whale (voiced by Ty Burrell)

Will Smith's 17-year-old son Jaden **modeled Louis Vuitton women's wear** for a campaign.

Celine Dion **covered Adele's smash hit** "Hello" to rave reviews.

Channing Tatum **donned a Princess Elsa costume** to perform "Let It Go" on Spike TV's *Lip Sync Battle.*

LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

Kellogg Co. has started selling **hot-dog-flavored Pringles** at select Walgreens stores.

George R.R. Martin revealed that the next ***A Song of Ice and Fire* book won't be out** before the *Game of Thrones* Season 6 premiere, despite his earlier promise.

A Buffalo Bills fan **set himself on fire** after jumping through a burning table at a tailgate.

'I sold them to the white slavers.'

GEORGE LUCAS, on the deal he made to sell *Star Wars* rights to Disney. He later apologized for the comment, calling his analogy "inappropriate" and saying he has "great respect for the company."

Instagram's newest celebrity is **@BreadFaceBlog,** a woman who smashes her face into bread.

Britney Spears **got stuck in a prop tree** during one of her Las Vegas shows.

GENE LUEN YANG—FIRST SECOND BOOKS (2); FINDING DORY: DISNEY/PIXAR; TATUM: SPIKE TV; BREADFACEBLOG: INSTAGRAM; BUFFALO BILLS: YOUTUBE; PRINGLES: KELLOGG; HOT DOG, PRINGLES: ALAMY; SMITH: BRUCE WEBER—LOUIS VUITTON; DION, SPEARS, LUCAS, MARTIN: GETTY IMAGES

By Nolan Feeney, Samantha Grossman and Ashley Ross

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THE PURSUIT OF HAPPY-ISH

My open-plan life and other tales of communal existence

By Susanna Schrobsdorff

I WAS A LITTLE LATE TO THE OPEN-PLAN OFFICE. SOME OF my friends have been working without walls or doors for years. A few have even come full circle and are in offices again, but the kind in those vast freelancer complexes where everyone works in clear-walled rooms that stack in endless rows, like *The Matrix* or maybe *The Hollywood Squares*. Everything is visible, but no one knows what's going on exactly. Work as performance art.

Anyway, this past fall TIME and I moved to a snazzy new snack-filled, nonoffice office setting. Coincidentally, my daughter moved into an open-plan bedroom/bathroom, otherwise known as a college dorm. It has been an adjustment. This is very different from sharing a little Brooklyn apartment with her sister. Now she has to spend many hours getting things done in a common space with people at whom she cannot throw shoes or hairbrushes. Just like in an office.

WHEN SHE CAME HOME for winter break, we compared notes on the art of coexistence. The first rule: unless something is on fire, don't comment on anything, even if it is happening inches from you. Pull down an invisible scrim between you and the 40 screens lining the walls or the seven people sitting on your roommate's bed when you get back from the coed showers. Think of it like the fourth wall between an audience and the actors on stage. It's a partition only to be broken at judicious, well-timed moments. Otherwise pretend no one can see you and you can't see them. But do not pretend that no one can hear you or your Mick Jagger ringtone. Assume that even the people wearing headphones can hear every word you say and every bite you take out of that disturbingly crisp apple. In short, the best protocol is to see no evil, talk quietly and hear as little as possible.

This takes getting used to. For example, one of my daughter's bunkmates sleeps naked. (Turns out, unclothed roommates aren't just a joke in those college advice books.) It was distracting at first, but that fourth wall made it O.K. Just keep reading right through the disrobing ritual and the roommate in turn would ignore any furtive weeping. This was all going fine till late in the semester when the roommate said: "You might have noticed I sleep without clothes. Hope that's O.K." And boom, the fourth wall was gone, like Adam and Eve—the nakedness situation was suddenly awkward.

Same rule goes for shared work desks. Say you send an email with something funny in it to someone a few feet away. Even if you can hear their email alert and you are fairly sure they are opening the email and you can see them smiling and are certain they are reading what you sent, do not look in their eyes knowingly. And absolutely don't say, "Hey, wasn't that funny?" You'll smash the fragile illusion of privacy and anonymity. Wait for them to reach out. Or send a chat message. (Yes, even if they are close enough to touch.) Otherwise, your co-desk-habitator will feel exposed, like you know almost everything he's doing. Which you do, but it's not polite to make it obvious.

ANOTHER OVERLAP BETWEEN dorm life and open-plan work life is the persistent feeling that something interesting is happening nearby but you are not in the loop. There's an unscheduled huddle in a corner. Or maybe just a collective quickening of fingers on keyboards when texting ramps up. Or you catch an enticing word or two, like *beer* or *jerk*. And of course there's all that low whispering which is simple open-plan courtesy but is unsettling nonetheless. The whole thing could give you a case of debilitating FOMO unless you learn to practice disassociative office mindfulness: the art of being present without being totally aware.

There is also a periodic desire to turn to an imaginary reality-show camera and narrate the day, highlighting the absurdities of whatever is happening inches from you. But instead you Gchat someone and laugh, out loud, which just adds to the aforementioned FOMO.

Eventually we all learn to find the balance between paralyzing self-consciousness and disruptive familiarity. And someday, when my daughter and I inevitably move into adjoining stackable cubes in the vast multi-industry co-working space of the future, she for her first job and I for my last, I'm sure we'll have to get used to being in each other's orbit just like everyone else. As I've recently learned, being together takes practice, even if you once shared a bathroom for 18 years straight. A college vacation comes up, a beloved but utterly changed adult person shows up in your co-living space, and you have to figure out all over again when it's O.K. to break that fourth wall and ask who's calling so early on Christmas morning, and when to pretend you didn't hear a thing. ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY JULIETTE BORDA FOR TIME

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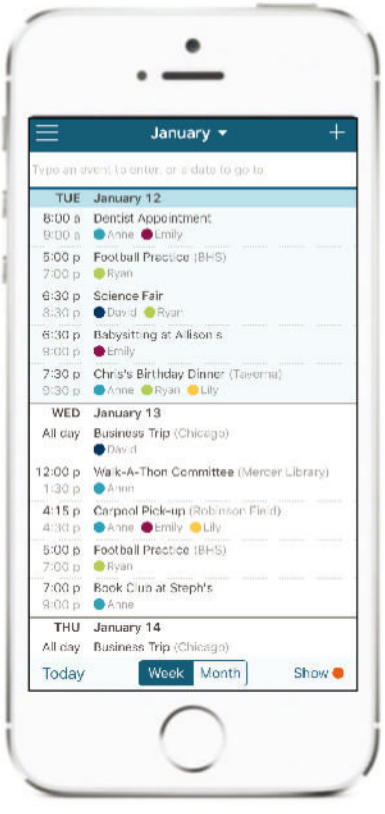

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–Kelly V., iTunes Review

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Hoda Kotb The co-host of the *Today* show's fourth hour talks about her new book, *Where We Belong*, career paths and how to drink wine on television

Why did you decide to write a book about other people's success stories? At some point in your life, don't you sort of wonder if you're in the right space? Sometimes I feel like decisions just happen to you. I wanted to meet some people who had their hands on the steering wheel.

When have you had moments like that? I'm still having them. I actually think I'm supposed to be with kids somehow. I thought I would have kids, but circumstances happen, illness and divorce, and all of a sudden you're sitting here going, What happened? I know it's not in the cards in this moment, but it's something I'm looking toward, whether it's teaching or opening a camp. That being said, I did hard-news journalism for a long time, and I don't really think it was ever the perfect fit for me. My heart broke a lot when I was covering things.

Did it feel like a better fit when you started doing *Today*? With Kathie Lee [Gifford]? You mean the drinking and laughing? Yeah! When she showed up, the world changed for me. She's electric, and she doesn't care—there's such a freedom. I'm sitting next to her, and sometimes it's like the grenade's exploding next to you, like it's collateral damage. Am I fired too? O.K., bye! You don't know, but it's such fun that you don't care.

Whose idea was it to drink wine on the show? Chelsea Handler showed up one day, and she had that book *Are You There, Vodka? It's Me, Chelsea.* So as a gag, we said, "Let's make drinks." And then a few days later, Brooke Shields came on and said, "Where's mine?" Then it was like a wave. We started naming the days: Funday Monday, Boozeday Tuesday, Winesday Wednesday. I don't think the top brass knew what we were doing for a while, because nobody watched us. They were busy! And then one day, they were like, "Are they drinking?" We were like, "Oh, we've been doing that for months. TIME called us the Happy Hour."

How much wine is too much wine? On the show, we sip, because we don't want to get sloppy and disgusting—it would be bad, especially for the last guest on the show. When you stop being happy, it's time to stop.

What advice would you give to young working women? Do the jobs that no one wants to do. And don't do what you're asked—do more than what you're asked.

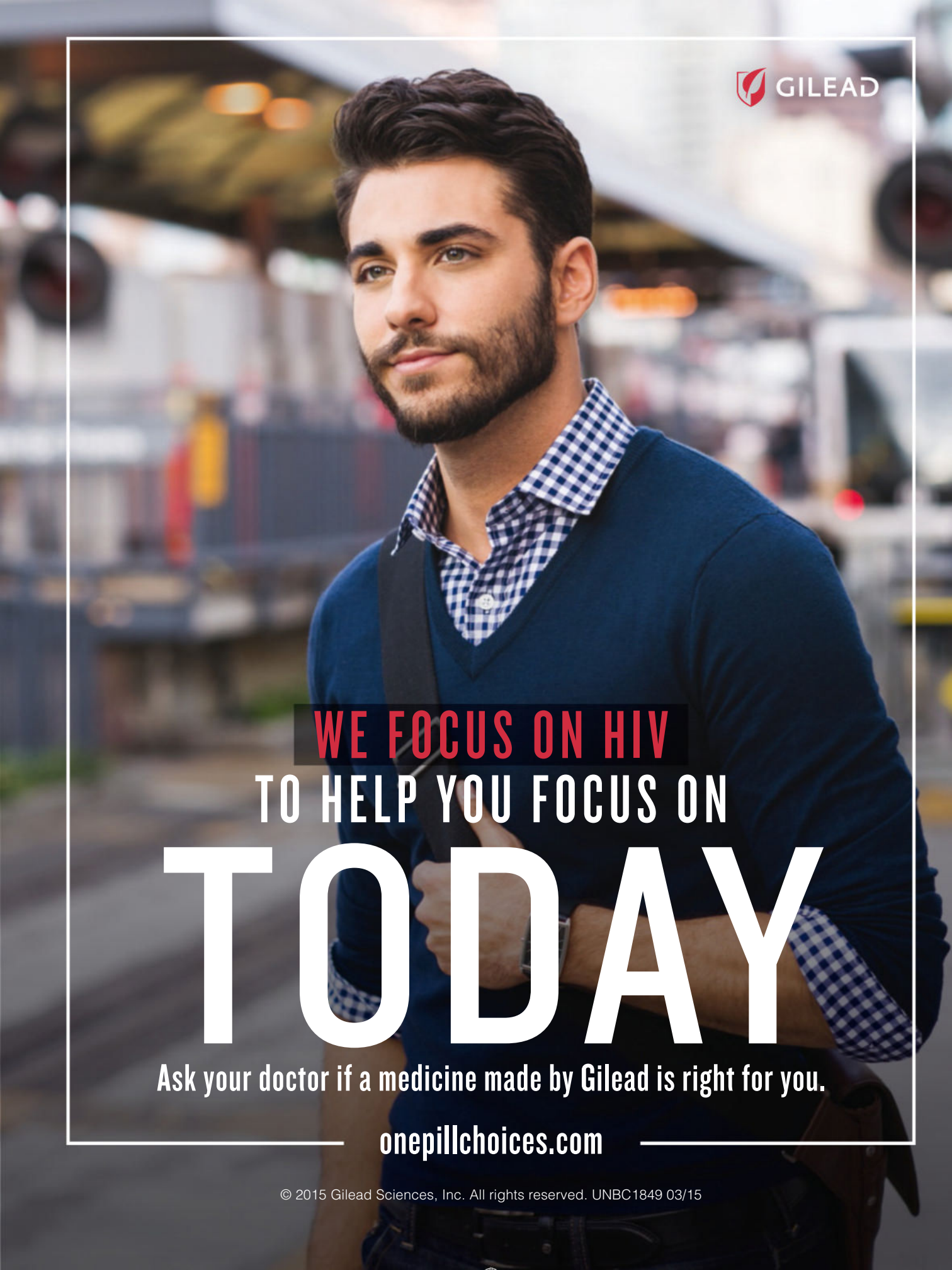
A lot of people in your book are faith-driven. What role does faith play in your life? It matters. I remember one of the most poignant moments for me was when I was diagnosed with cancer, and I walked by the guest bedroom in my apartment, and Karen, my best friend, was on her knees. I still can picture her sitting there, unaware of me, and I thought to myself, Prayer is power, man, it is powerful.

> 'Don't do what you're asked—do more than what you're asked.'

Who's been your favorite actor to portray you on *Saturday Night Live*? I don't know, because they kept getting fired! I think it was Jenny Slate. I just know I got pushed around by Kristen Wiig, no matter who played me. I thought it was exactly like watching our show. Kathie goes, "That's nothing like our show!" I go, "They're not even changing the dialogue. You said that to me, and I said that to you!"

You've talked about pubic hair and peeing your pants and kissed Regis Philbin on air. Any regrets? Of those three? Yes, yes and yes! I better not say yes to kissing Regis—let's just do the first two. —SARAH BEGLEY

BEN GABBE—GETTY IMAGES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FORD GT

Preproduction model shown. Available late 2016.